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ABSTRACT

Admission policies and procedures in higher education institutions in East and West Europe were studied based on responses to a 1977 questionnaire sent to European countries and through additional study. The following topics are addressed: definitions of terms related to problems of access to postsecondary education; quantitative trends; admission policies; admission procedures; the new student clientele; and problems of access, including career information and guidance available to students, and foreign students in European higher education institutions. In almost all the countries of the Europe region, admission policies are endeavoring to maintain the results of the growth in the 1960s, but to maintain this growth at a slightly slower pace. Admission policies, while remaining policies of growth, are generally selective and restrictive because of the increased numbers of qualified secondary school students. Admission of new clientele, or those who have not necessarily completed the traditional secondary education and/or who wish to continue education while working, creates a balance in relation to the selective admissions policies. Selective admission occurs because of a lack of resources or a shortage of employment opportunities, or a combination of the two factors. Attention is directed to entrance examinations and competitions; selection based on secondary school performance; selection based on geographical or social background, which allows sociological and political objectives to be considered; and selection by lottery. A questionnaire is appended. (SW)

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ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE

STUDY EDITED BY THE EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

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PREFACE

Among the many problems facing higher education in Europe at the present time, the question of access is probably one of the most important because of its complexity and because of the influence it brings to bear upon many other aspects of post-secondary education. Indeed, the increasing diversification of types and structures of higher education, the ever-growing demand from new groups of students composed mainly of adults and people already in employment, the frequent stagnation in the numbers of qualified applicants from the traditional school leavers and sometimes even a reduction in their number, the financial constraints faced by many governments since the economic recession of 1973, the growing incidence of unemployment among graduates during the same period in many countries, have all led many Member States to revise their access policies, at the same time taking into consideration the new requirements and sometimes the new aims assigned to higher education.

Aware of the importance of these facts, the Director General decided that a study on the evolution of the problem of access to higher education in Europe during recent years, should be elaborated by the European Centre for Higher Education. To assist in the preparation of this study, the Centre sent out at the end of 1977 a questionnaire to all the Member States in the Region concerning the overall problems, at the same time entrusting to various specialists in the field the study of certain particular aspects which seemed to need deeper consideration.

This present study thus consists of a synthesis of the replies supplied by the Member States to the questionnaire, and specific studies on questions emerging from those replies, to which the author, given his deep knowledge of higher education, has been able to add new and original ideas. It contains six parts on the following topics : definition of a number of terms related to problems of access to post-secondary education, quantitative trends, admission policies, admission procedures, the new student clientele, and, in the final part, a study of certain specific questions attached to the problems of access, including that of career information and guidance available to students, and that of foreign students in higher education institutions in Europe.

This study is primarily aimed at those responsible for higher education in the Member States. It is also of interest to all those concerned, in different ways, with the functioning of higher education. It is hoped that it will assist in understanding the problems which arise in this respect, as well as the aims and objectives pursued by the different countries of the Region according to the policies they have adopted.

CEPES would like to thank most sincerely all those who, through their precious co-operation, have made this study possible. Thanks go first of all to the higher education authorities and institutions of the Member States, who have supplied, through their National Commissions, important, and often detailed, information concerning the situation in their respective countries. Thanks are also due to the members of the Advisory Committee and to the liaison officers of the Centre, who were always willing to give their help and support to the project, as well as to the authors of the different studies which were made in view of the preparation of this work or utilized for this purpose : Mr. L. Cerych and Mr. A. Smith for their excellent preliminary synthesis ; Mr. I. Vorobiov for his study on access and the different forms of higher education in the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe ; Mr. G. Daillant for his reflections on the future prospects for various access policies ; Mrs. E. Sipos and Mrs. Zs. Sándor for their analysis of admission systems in the socialist countries..

Finally, CEPES would like to thank especially the author of this synthesis study, Mr. Joseph Herman, who has so competently carried out the difficult task entrusted to him.

AUDUN ØFJORD

DIRECTOR CEPES

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	7
Part One : THE DEFINITIONS	11
1. **Higher Education**	11
2. **Access and Admission**	13
3. **The "Clientele" and its Composition**	13
4. **The Demand and the Needs**	14
5. **Selection**	15
Part Two : QUANTITATIVE TRENDS	16
1. **Evolution since 1970**	16
A. *The Student Population*	16
B. *The Composition of Student Population*	22
C. *Quantitative Aspects of the Recruitment Base*	26
2. **The Sociological Consequences of the Quantitative Changes**	32
Part Three : ADMISSION POLICY	35
1. **Typology and Trends**	35
2. **The Factors which determine Admission Policies**	38
A. *The Condition and the Traditions of the Education System*	38
(i) Secondary Education	39
(ii) Higher Education	41
(iii) Traditions, Attitudes of Public Opinion	42
B. *Functions and Objectives of Higher Education*	43

Page

C. *The Resources* 45

D. *The Labour Market — the Requirements of Society* . . . 47

Part Four : ADMISSION PROCEDURES 49

1. **Admission on the Basis of a Certificate of Secondary Education** . . 50

2. **Selection for Admission** 55

A. *Entrance by Examination or Competition* 55

B. *Selection based on Results obtained at Secondary School* . . 60

C. *Other Selection Procedures* 65

3. **Admission Procedures : Attempt at an Overall View** . . . 66

Part Five : THE NEW CLIENTELE 68

1. **Access Policies in Favour of the New Clientele** 69

2. **Access to Higher Education and the Social Mobility** 72

Part Six : SOME RELATED PROBLEMS 76

1. **Vocational Information and Orientation at the Disposal of the Access Policy** 76

2. **The Access of Foreigners** 79

CONCLUSIONS 81

ANNEX : **Questionnaire on Access to Higher Education in Europe** . . . 82

INTRODUCTION

(1) The problem of access to higher education essentially concerns the freedom of movement between the secondary system and the tertiary system of education ; further, the means of access depend very strictly, in every society, on the importance and the role attributed to higher training. This is why Unesco can claim a privileged position in the study of higher education over a period covering almost twenty years. The now classic work **"Access to Higher Education"** by F. Bowles commissioned by the joint Unesco/International Association of Universities programme for research into higher education was published in 1963. The first Conference of Ministers of Education of European Member States, organized by Unesco in Vienna in 1967, devoted itself almost entirely to the problem of access to higher education. The second Conference of Ministers of Education held in Bucharest in 1973 examined the problem of access and that of admission procedures in the light of global changes in higher education and on this subject put forward certain principles to which this study will frequently refer [1].

(2) Believing that the question had not lost any of its actuality, and that in the light of certain recent developments there were aspects which required a further, deeper examination, Unesco took up the study of the problem again in the framework of the thematical activities of the European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES). A Questionnaire (ED-77/WS/98, dated 19th July, 1977) devoted in particular to the conditions and the criteria for admission to higher education institutions and to changes and trends which were becoming apparent in the field of access, was sent to the European Member States (see Annex). A Consultation with eleven participants from different European countries was held at CEPES from 18—20 October, 1977. After considering the situation in their respective countries, the participants discussed a number of problems common to all the countries in the Region, and put forward suggestions as to the content and planning of a future study on the question of access. Taking into account the discussions which took place during the Consultation, the

[1] See point 7 of the Conclusions of the Recommendation I/1, in the *Final Report of the Bucharest Conference*.

texts of the contributions of the participants and a rich bibliography of works devoted to the subject of access since 1973 were published by CEPES in 1978 [1].

(3) On the basis of the replies from the Member States to the Questionnaire of 19 July, 1977, a preliminary study was worked out by a Consultant, Mr. L. Cerych, assisted by Mr. A. Smith. This study (ref. ED-78/CS.35/2) served as a working paper for a second Consultation for the preparation of a study on access to higher education in Europe organized in Paris under the auspices of the CEPES programme, from 17—19 April, 1978. On the basis of a review of the trends which seemed to be emerging from the replies to the Questionnaire, and having examined L. Cerych's preliminary study, the participants of this consultation put forward certain suggestions on the subject of the study which CEPES would be preparing.

(4) In the Summary of Discussions (issued in English only, ref. ED-78/CS.35/3) it is specifically stated (para. 43) that a thorough work based on many case studies would not be possible because of limited financial resources and shortage of time ; it would rather be that of undertaking a study adapted to the specific objectives of CEPES and Unesco. The features which such a study should have were set out by the participants as follows :

> "44. The study, which should be modest and not claim to be exhaustive, should at the same time be concrete, practical and useful to governments, higher education institutions and national, regional and international bodies concerned with the development of higher education. The study therefore should not be merely descriptive. Without aiming at setting standards or making specific recommendations, it should identify problems and analyse those which seem to emerge from the trends occurring in higher education within the Region over the last fifteen years. Such problems may well be of crucial importance in the coming years."

As for the general approach to the problems, the same text continued as follows :

> "45. . . . More attention should be paid to policy trends than to the procedural aspects of admission to higher education. The review of trends would provide the background against which a selection of specific problems would be anaylsed. . ."

(5) Finally, still within the framework of the same programme of CEPES, various additional and complementary works have been accomplished in 1978. Three studies enriched Unesco's documentation : E. Sipos, (revised

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[1] *Consultation for the Preparation of a Study on Access to Higher Education in Europe*, CEPES, 1978, ref. ED-78/WS/2.

for the years 1975-1977 by Zs. Sándor) **"A Comparative Analysis of Admission Systems to Higher Education in several European Countries"; "Study on Access to Higher Education and on the Different Types of Education in the Soviet Union and other European Socialist Countries"**, by I. V. Vorobiov ; and a study prepared by the International Association of Universities under the heading **"Access to Higher Education — some Future Perspectives"**. In addition to the preceding papers, CEPES, in collaboration with the Unesco Office of Statistics, has published a **"Statistical Study on Higher Education in Europe 1970—75"**. It should be added that the working paper which had been prepared by L. Cerych and A. Smith for the second Consultation, held in April 1978 [1], has been published in a slightly revised form, and with a completed bibliography, by the European Cultural Foundation under the heading **"Access to Tertiary Education in Europe"**.

(6) It is as a development of what has gone before that the present study has been conceived and carried out. It is based primarily on the papers which have just been mentioned, and in particular on the replies given by the European States to the Questionnaire sent out in 1977. This documentation has the considerable advantage of being relatively homogeneous ; indeed it has been determined in its main aspects by the Unesco Questionnaire. The chapters dealing with the individual concerns of the countries of the Region provide an accurate overall view of the European scene, and, when dealing with particular problems, reference can be made to the experiences of many different states. Let be said that it is not a complete or exhaustive gathering of facts, not only because it stops at 1977, (for systematic statistics at 1975), but also because the replies provided by the states are in themselves incomplete and uneven. It is evident, moreover, that one cannot ignore the ever-increasing quantity of literature devoted to the general aspects of the problem of access as well as to individual national developments. For all these reasons, although the essential terms of reference of the CEPES project have been followed, the documentary and bibliographical basis of the study has gone somewhat beyond the original framework. Limited statistics, national reports, publications subsequent to 1977, and papers by various national and international organizations have been used in the study. Undoubtedly, a work of systematic research would have probed much more deeply into the subject ; but this study aimed above all to indicate, by reference to this wealth of documentation, the lines along which research and reflection should go.

(7) The present study is thus a synthesis document which conforms in its objectives and in its approach to the views expressed in the second Consultation (April 1978) quoted in paragraph 4. The study does not claim

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[1] See *Second Consultation for the Preparation of a Study on Access to Higher Education in Europe* (Paris, 17—19 April 1978) ref. ED-78/CS.35/2.

to be exhaustive. Its basic purpose is to set out, on the basis of selected papers, the factors and main options which determine the policies and procedures of admission in higher education institutions in different countries. It is hoped that in drawing attention to the main trends, to the common features which unite most of the countries in the Region, and, among others, to the differences which separate such and such a state or group of states this study will stimulate thought and discussion. It could thus be, despite its modest volume and limited documentation, useful to governments and bodies responsible for higher education in different countries.

Part One

THE DEFINITIONS

(8) Strictly speaking, the examination of access to higher education depends upon the sociology of education : it consists of a description of the process by which, in a given country at a given time, the selection is normally made of the group of people who are going to benefit as students from the services of institutions of higher education ; naturally it also involves analysing this group in terms of its size and its composition. Given that this process — as well as the statistical characteristics of the student population — at any given time varies considerably from one country to another, and even within one country alone, it is natural to ask what the factors are which determine and explain these variations. The objective of the Questionnaire sent out by Unesco to the European Member States was to get to grips with these variations within the European Region over a period covering the last 10 to 15 years. To complete satisfactorily the comparative examination on the basis of the answers to the Questionnaire it is necessary to clarify the meaning of certain terms which serve to describe different aspects and phases of the process in question. Some of the definitions which we give will be accompanied by a discussion as to the substance of the problem ; in other cases it will be nothing more than a straightforward terminological definition.

1. Higher Education

(9) In paragraph 6, the Questionnaire proposes the following definition :

> "The term **higher education** is defined as that level of education requiring as a minimum condition of admission the successful completion of education at the second level, or evidence of attainment of a level of knowledge equivalent to what is considered satisfactory experience. It covers both public and private institutions and in-

cludes : (1) programmes leading to an award not equivalent to a first university degree ; (2) programmes leading to a first university degree or equivalent qualification ; and (3) programmes leading to a post-graduate university degree or equivalent qualification".

(10) It is instructive to compare this definition with that given by the Organization itself ten years earlier. The working paper of the first Conference of Ministers of Education of the European Member States points out, in fact, that higher education can be defined as comprising

> "higher education is defined as all types of education (academic, professional, technological, teacher education) given in institutions such as universities, university colleges, liberal arts colleges, technological institutes and teacher-training establishments for which the basic entrance requirement is completion of secondary education, the usual entrance age is about 18 years and in which the courses lead to the giving of a named award (degree, diploma or certificate of higher studies)" [1].

(11) Apart from an inevitable fluctuation in terminology, due mainly to the unavoidably inadequate translation of the names of longstanding traditional national institutions, the definition of the Questionnaire differs from that of ten years ago in two essential points :
(a) the definition of the Questionnaire takes account of a "new clientele", of a new group of students : those who do not belong to the generation of 18—24 year olds and have or have not terminated secondary school ;
(b) the definition of the Questionnaire reflects the increasingly complex network of the "tertiary" system, which from now on includes, in more than one country, "short courses", vocational institutions and courses, etc. which are not (or not yet) integrated into the systems leading to the usual degrees and diplomas.
As a result of these innovations, mentioned in paragraph 7 of the Questionnaire itself, the definition becomes a very wide one and applies to all organized higher education activities provided to people over eighteen years of age. This flexibility brings with it an advantage which compensates for the rather confused vagueness of the formula : it makes it possible to take into consideration a very wide, and even bold, range of improvements and innovations in the field of higher education.

(12) In their replies to the Questionnaire, the Member States in general remain silent on the problem of the definition of higher education and do not comment on the formula suggested in the document; they outline their national situations thus implicitly defining, from their point of view, the field under consideration. In its reply, Norway, however, quotes the defi-

[1] *Access to Higher Education in Europe.* Unesco, Paris, 1968, p. 39.

nition and its own comments **in extenso** and underlines at which point the position as set out in the Questionnaire approaches Norwegian conceptions.

(13) In the body of this present study, all theoretical and logical questions allied to a definition of higher education will be put aside. Higher education will thus be taken to mean all education which the European Member States, in their legislation or regulations, include in that category. This would seem to be the only compatible approach to a study of this kind.

2. Access and Admission

(14) The terms **access** and **admission** (to higher education) are almost synonymous. The difference between the concepts which they embrace is nevertheless sufficiently important from the point of view of this examination, to merit close attention. In the following pages the word "access" is used as a term related to the sociological aspect of higher education : it describes, in its form of exposition as in its quantitative aspects, the process by which individuals, groups, sections of age groups etc. "enter" as students into higher education. The term "admission" is part of the terminology of the education policy and/or the education administration ; it describes the rules, procedures, etc. by which the states and institutions of higher education determine the terms of access and thus influence the quantitative aspects. It also describes, in its present practice, the positive decision to give an individual the status of student.

3. The "Clientele" and its Composition

(15) The term **clientele,** in use for several years in works relating to higher education, is very imprecise and the use of it will be, as far as it is possible, avoided. It describes in principle the cohorts of people who enter or could enter into a relationship with institutions of higher education as potential candidates for admission or effective students. Sometimes the term seems to describe the group which benefits, even indirectly, from the work and services of higher education. From the point of view of the study of access it is however useful to identify certain groups which make up this overall clientele.

(16) We shall use the term **recruitment base** for the group of potential students, that is the group of people who, in accordance with the regulations in force in the given country, have the right to become students in an institution of higher education, or the right to seek admission to such an institution. To quote an obvious example, several decades ago, in almost every European country, entry into the recruitment base for higher education (and it was the only way of entry) was by taking a certain examination at the end of secondary education (the **baccalaureat,** the **Abitur,** one of the various **examens de maturité** etc.). Certain essential

changes, which will be described in this study, are resulting from a modification of the legislation concerning the constitution of the recruitment base.

(17) The group of **candidates for admission** constitutes the core of the recruitment base. This group is necessarily smaller — sometimes much smaller — than the recruitment base for the simple reason that those who would have the right to seek admission to a university or another institution of higher education do not always make the most of that right. The study of the quantitative relationship between the recruitment base and the group of candidates for admission, and the examination of the factors which persuade individuals to apply or not to apply are part of the whole study of the process of access. In the case of systems, or higher education institutions which do not practise entrance selection, the act of applying is equivalent to enrolling in a faculty or other institution of higher education, and the group of "candidates for admission" is identical to that of "admitted". When there is entrance selection the group of those who have been admitted forms an inner-circle within the group of candidates and the study of the relationship between the two is an essential element in the examination of admission procedures.

(18) At first sight it would seem superfluous to define the concept of **student**. Let us state, therefore, that we consider the term "student" to apply to all persons who wish to follow a course, take an examination, or obtain a diploma in accordance with the regulations of an institution of higher education and who possess the authorization of that institution in the form of matriculation, registration or other similar administrative agreement. Apart from the students so far described, those for whom advanced studies constitute a full-time occupation, we are equally considering as students persons who are following advanced part-time or distance studies while at the same time taking part in other organized activity, particularly gainful employment.

4. The Demand and the Needs

(19) In works dealing with the functions of higher education these terms — and other similar ones — are often used imprecisely. In the context of the present study, **demand** means the dimension and composition of the group of candidates for admission ; the demand is thus the thrust, seemingly spontaneous, which is apparent in participation in higher education. As for the **needs** of society, they come under an objective socio-economic category — or so it is sometimes considered ; they express, in a more or less quantified way, the necessity to supply to the national economy or to the labour market a certain flow of specialists whose training can only be provided by higher education. The lack of communication between the composition of demand and of needs is, in many cases, one of the main difficulties which besets admission policies.

5. Selection

(20) The recruitment base for higher education consists of only a fraction — most often a minority — of the age cohorts of which it is made up ; those who decide to seek admission into an institution of higher education are generally a minority — at times a small minority — at the core of the recruitment base ; lastly, in most of the countries, these "candidates for admission" do not all succeed in being admitted into an institution of tertiary education. Right through the process of access we are therefore witnessing a numerical contraction in the clientele for higher education, a selection in the broadest sense of the word. In certain cases, most frequently near the stage of effective entry into higher education, one speaks of "declared selection", practised by means of explicitly selective procedures which are stipulated by legislative rules or regulations ; most frequently, and particularly at the stages which precede effective entry into institutions of higher education, selection is "implicit", it takes place as a result of the interplay of many connected factors — sociological, economic, administrative, educational and other factors which have nothing directly to do with procedures of access.

(21) It should be underlined straight away that right through this present study, the concept of selection is used in a strictly descriptive sense with no derogatory connotation. If it is true that for Unesco, as for the group of European Member States, the democratisation of higher education implies, among other things, the widening of the possibilities of access to this education, and the principle of the right of access for all those who are in a position to be admitted [1], it is equally true — as will emerge many times from this present study — that to simply eliminate selectivity of access would undoubtedly be illusory and also impossible.

(22) The Questionnaire, in question V, uses the term **numerus clausus.** It emerges from their replies that the states define this term in many different ways; there are some countries which simply refuse to use, or even to consider using this term which seems to take on a derogatory connotation, in certain cases because of unjust discriminatory practices. The objective description and classification of the methods and procedures of declared selection will allow the replacement of this term, in the body of the present study, by a more precise terminology, unless the term is part of the official vocabulary used by the state in replying to the Questionnaire.

[1] See Recommendation I/1, point 1.b, on this subject of the Second Conference of Ministers of Education of the European Member States.

Part Two

QUANTITATIVE TRENDS

1. Evolution since 1970

A. *The Student Population*

(23) The increase in student population, begun since the Second World War and particularly rapid after 1960, has continued after 1970 in all the countries of Europe. It is not only a question of an increase in numbers alone, but also a continued increase in the proportion of students in the population.

	Number of students per 10,000 inhabitants [1]	
	1970	1975
Austria	80	128
Belgium	127	162
Bulgaria	117	146
Canada	230	359
Czechoslovakia	91	105
Denmark	154	219
Finland	130	166
France	158	196
German Democratic Republic	83	135
Federal Republic of Germany	178	225
Greece	87	125
Hungary	78	102
Iceland	84	139
Ireland	96	128

[1] Extracts from table 2, p. 15, of the *Statistical Study 1970—1975 of CEPES.*

	Number of students per 10.000 inhabitants	
	1970	1975
Israel	188	237
Italy	128	178
Netherlands	177	212
Norway	129	166
Poland	123	170
Portugal	58	91
Romania	75	78
Spain	67	152
Sweden	176	196
Switzerland	82	99
Turkey	48	81
U.S.S.R.	189	190
United Kingdom	108	128
U.S.A.	415	523
Yugoslavia	128	185

Although in 1970 the percentage of students in the population was still less than 1% in 12 countries of the Region, this threshold has been passed, between 1970 and 1975, in 8 of the 12.

(24) In most cases, this increase was the result of high numbers of admission from the end of the preceding decade and a continued increase in admissions of first year students. There have been exceptions, however : according to statistics which do not cover all the countries of Europe [1], this was the case in the German Democratic Republic where, from 1971 to 1972, there was a very clear fall in the number of first enrolments (form 100,762 to 87,203, with the ceiling more or less maintained later) ; this fall came, as indeed mentioned in the reply from the G.D.R. to the Questionnaire, in the wake of a decrease in the numbers of students enrolled for part-time courses ; the same thing happened in Italy, where there was a fall from 276,739 to 213,619 students from 1972 to 1973.

(25) There are other indications which show that the growth which occured between 1970 and 1975 was not as clear and as general as might be inferred from the numbers quoted above in paragraph 23. According to the CEPES **"Statistical Study for 1970—75"** (Table 1, commentary pages 11—12), "compared with the previous period (1965—1970) the increase in enrolment has slowed down in 18 of the 29 countries under consideration... While in the course of the period 1965—70 the average growth rates were higher than or equal to 8% per annum in 13 countries,

[1] From *Statisztikák*, Budapest 1978, pp. 126—127.

this was the case only in 6 countries between 1970 and 1975. For most countries these rates were between 4 and 8%". The difference can be seen even more clearly if we compare the growth for the whole period 1960—1970 with that for the period 1970—1975.

In the case of the majority of the countries of the European continent [1], the curve of growth underlines a particularly clear slowing down after 1970 if one follows its evolution since 1960. In calculating the growth in percentage terms of student cohorts in the first year of the period in question it can be seen that in a certain number of countries with very different structures the student population has doubled or more than doubled from 1960 to 1970, against a very modest increase between 1970 and 1975. Here are the most typical examples :

	Increase in % [2]	
	from 1970 to 1975	from 1960 to 1970
Belgium	157	28
Denmark	150	45
Finland	154	29
France	208	30
Greece	169	46
Italy	184	42
Netherlands	118	24
Norway	250	33
Romania	111	8
Sweden	235	15
Switzerland	98	26
U.S.S.R.	91	6
United Kingdom	147	17

(26) There are however, a few countries in which these last years have shown that an acceleration has taken place as compared to the decade 1960—1970 : they are Austria (increase of 55% from 1960 to 1970 and of 61% from 1970 to 1975), the Federal Republic of Germany (73% from 1960 to 1970, 66% from 1970 to 1975), Spain (149% from 1960 to 1970, 140% from 1970 to 1975), Turkey and Yugoslavia, with less clear but nevertheless noteworthy accelerations.

(27) In the case of a certain number of other countries, like Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Poland, the balance sheet of the fifteen years in question shows a measured growth, rectilinear in spite of inconsistencies and fluctuations occuring

[1] Our documents do not permit us to follow progress in Canada, the United States and Israel between 1960 and 1970.

[2] Calculated after Tables A_1 of the Statistical Studies of 1973 and 1978.

during shorter periods, sometimes from year to year. In these countries, again, the student population has at least doubled, and in most cases more than doubled, in fifteen years.

(28) In a final reckoning, the study of the rates of growth of student population brings us to some general facts which should be recorded :

a) in all the countries of the Region, the numbers of students have at least doubled, sometimes trebled or even more than trebled in 15 years ;

b) in most of the countries, the most precipitous growth occurred between 1960 and 1970, the growth rate declining after 1970 without however becoming negative ;

c) on studying the figures in paragraph 23 (proportion of students in the whole population) it is noticeable that the several countries in which the growth rate accelerated after 1970 are situated among those (with the sole exception of Yugoslavia) in which, in 1970 the proportion of students was less than 1%. All this would seem to indicate that the great majority of European countries — irrespective of their social and political structures — were proceeding towards at least relative stablility characterized by a rate of 150 to 200 students per 10,000 inhabitants [1].

(29) This seemingly modest, and in any case unspectacular rate, represents a very important deduction in certain age groups. In the very great majority of countries where statistics, establishing rate of entry into education by year of age, are at our disposal, the percentage of young people of 20 years of age enrolled in an institution of higher education varied in 1975 between 10% and 15%. Here are the figures taken from Table 6 of the CEPES Statistical Study for 1970—1975 :

	%		%
Austria *	9.4	Iceland	8.2
Belgium *	8.0	Ireland	9.9
Bulgaria	12.0	Norway	9.8
Canada *	14.8	Poland	12.0
Denmark	11.4	Portugal	6.7
Finland *	8.1	Romania (1973)	5.2
France	15.4	Spain	13.3
Federal Republic of Germany	9.4	Sweden	10.1
Greece	14.0	Switzerland *	5.8
Hungary	9.6	United States	30.8
		Yugoslavia	14.9

(in the case of the countries marked with a *, only universities have been counted).

The age of twenty years is not necessarily, however, in all the countries, the highest point on the curve of rates of entry into higher education

[1] Most recent statistics seem to confirm this trend for 1976 and 1977 (see Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1978—79, Paris 1980).

after 18 years ; and we will come back to this. In some countries — like Bulgaria, France, Greece, Hungary and several others — it is effectively at twenty years that the maximum rate of entry into higher education was reached in 1975, whereas in the Federal Republic of Germany the maximum rate was at around 22 years, in Sweden at 21 and 22 years, in the United States at 18 to 19 years.

(30) From the point of view of the evolution of admissions, it would be interesting to have at one's disposal comparative tables concerning the number of first enrolments. Unfortunately systematic, comparable data is only available for relatively few countries. Here are some indications [1] :

	Increase in number of first enrolments from 1965 to 1970 (1965 = 100)	from 1970 to 1975 (1970 = 100)
Austria	103.0	128.4
G.D.R.	148.1	87.4
Hungary	98.1	138.7
Italy	176.3	93.9 **
Poland	93.6	180.9
Romania	92.2	141.5
Sweden	167.1	114.7
U.S.S.R.	106.8	109.0
United States *	123.4	117.4 **
Yugoslavia	131.6	152.1

(* only universities ; ** refers to 1974).

In the light of fragmentary evidence emerging from states which do not figure in this list, it would seem that it is sufficiently representative of the general trends. The table shows that the continued increase in student numbers after 1970 is not only the result of the high admission figures at the end of the decade 1960—1970 : the increase in recently admitted students is continuing (except in two countries in our table, Italy and G.D.R., who had a particularly rapid increase between 1965 and 1970). In the countries where the growth of newly enrolled students had been stationary, or even going down before 1970, there has even been slight acceleration since 1970 (Austria, Hungary, Poland and Romania).

(31) The given examples concerning numbers of first admissions in 1970 and in 1975 only make complete sense if they are considered in the framework of development over a longer period. If, for instance, we com-

[1] On the basis of *Statisztikák*, Budapest, 1978, tables 3/A and 3/B, pp. 126—141.

pare the number of first admissions in 1975 (1974 for Italy and the United States) to the number of first admissions in 1960 (1960 = 100), we have the following figures [1] :

Austria	128.7
G.D.R.	98.6
Hungary	241.2
Italy	381.3
Poland	320.5
Romania	176.0
Sweden	407.2
U.S.S.R.	167.5
United States (universities)	200.8
Yugoslavia	272.5

Let us add a similar example for France : taking 1960 as a basis (= 100) the index of first admissions is 309.7 for 1972 [2]. These examples show that with the notable exception of the G.D.R. where, some fluctuations apart, one can observe, in the long run, a certain consistency in the numbers of admission, the number of first admissions in the 15 years has not only increased, but has increased very rapidly, in almost all the countries : it has doubled or almost doubled, trebled and even quadrupled in the majority of the countries.

(32) One can therefore notice that since 1970 [3], the rise in the curve of first admissions has been continuing in the majority of the countries of the Region. As the numerical basis on which it is calculated is always more important in absolute figures, it is normal that, with the exception of some countries like Poland and Yugoslavia, the rate of growth diminishes. It is however certain that in many countries the real quantitative leap occurred between 1960 and 1965, and that not only in the rate of growth, but also in the absolute figures of new admissions ; this is clear in the cases of Hungary, Romania, the U.S.S.R. and the United States among others. In Italy and Sweden the proportional increase was most rapid between 1960 and 1965, and the rise in the numbers of first enrolments, on the other hand, between 1965 and 1970. In all these countries, and undoubtedly in the majority of those who do not figure in the aforementioned tables, the curve of growth of new admissions shows a tendency to level out after 1970, however, without altogether ceasing to rise.

(33) For a satisfactory interpretation of the numerical data, and particularly of the trends apparent in the variations in student numbers, it would naturally be desirable to take account of the demographical fluctuations, particularly the varying impact of age cohorts. Let it suffice to give a

[1] On the basis of the source mentioned in the note p. 20.
[2] Data calculated on the basis of France's reply to the Questionnaire, Table III, 7.
[3] From the fragmentary data which we have, the same trends have been continuing since 1975.

random example, of little significance in itself, to demonstrate at which point demographical considerations could — and should — influence the evaluation of statistics concerning higher education [1]. The overall rise in the numbers of full-time students has been approximately of the same order, between 1970 and 1975, in Hungary and Switzerland: a rise of 19.5% in Hungary (1970 : 53,821 students, 1975 : 64,319), and of 22.8% in Switzerland (1970 : 47,040 students, 1975 : 57,741). Against this, the percentage of full-time students in the population aged 20 to 24 years has not varied appreciably in Hungary during the same period (6.91% in 1970, 7.04% in 1975), while it has noticeably increased in Switzerland (9.19% in 1970, 12.37% in 1975); in other words, this proportion has increased by about one third in Switzerland and by scarcely 2% in Hungary. The evaluation of the variations in the number of new admissions depends even more closely on the importance of the age cohorts. It is more than likely, in many countries, that demographical factors are to blame for the drop in the rate of increase of first admissions after 1970. Unfortunately systematic statistics which would make possible an international comparison on this point have still to be worked out.

B. *The Composition of Student Population*

(34) It is not a question of proceeding to a systematic analysis of the composition of student population ; there are however a certain number of parameters which are of particular importance from the point of view of the changes in the recruitment base as well as of the evolution of admission policies and procedures : form of student participation (full-time — part-time), branches of study, proportion of sexes, distribution according to the social background of the students.

(35) As for **full-time and part-time studies** the distinction poses problems which have often been debated elsewhere [2]. The statistics themselves are often missing. On this subject the CEPES Statistical Study for 1970—1975 says (pp. 13—14) :

> "... the definition of part-time higher education changes from one country to another. Many countries do not supply data concerning this category, not because they have no part-time students but only because no distinction is made between these and other students".

As the statistics on which every quantitative analysis is based are supplied by the states, they inevitably reflect the differences in interpretation which separate the different states on this point, but it is advisable to take them into consideration as they reveal a number of trends in evolution which are worth comparing and interpreting.

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[1] The figures that follow are calculated on the basis of *Statisztikát*, Budapest, 1978 tables 2/B and 2/E.

[2] Let us refer at this point to the paper *New Forms of Higher Education in Europe*, CEPES, Bucharest 1976, which contains very instructive contributions and bibliography.

(36) Again on this point, the quantitative evolution which has occurred since 1970 is difficult to interpret in itself. We are, therefore, combining certain elements from table 3 of the CEPES Statistical Study with information supplied by "Statisztikák" Budapest 1978, table 2/C, and provide data on four years which were landmarks (1960, 1965, 1970, 1975). Hereby we would also like to complete, as much as possible, the list of countries supplied by CEPES [1].

	Proportion of students in part-time study			
	1960	1965	1970	1975
Bulgaria	28.3	32.8	25.9	28.9
Canada	w.d.	w.d.	33.6	33.6
Czechoslovakia	28.4	34.5	19.4	20.7
Hungary	33.2	44.7	33.2	40.2
Ireland	w.d.	w.d.	8.0	17.3
Italy	28.3	26.3	17.6	21.2
Netherlands	w.d.	w.d.	23.1	19.7
Norway	w.d.	w.d.	3.7	10.6
Poland	32.5	40.4	37.3	38.5
Romania	19.9	22.2	31.4	30.3
U.S.S.R.	51.8	59.0	51.1	45.9
United Kingdom	37.7	31.1	24.1	23.7 (1974) [2]
Yugoslavia	32.6	34.1	29.5	38.7

It goes without saying that this table displays a certain degree of looseness because of the difference in categorization. In certain countries like Bulgaria and Romania the percentages given by the different sources vary slightly : indications concerning short-cycle non-university higher education are not always included in the figures given in the tables. In the case of divergencies of this sort we have used the numbers which refer to the system as a whole.

(37) The presence of Italy in the preceding table may be surprising, since this country makes no official distinction between "normal" courses on the one hand, and correspondence courses or evening classes on the other. Nevertheless, the official statistics do take account of **fuori corso** students. This problem will be taken up again later (cf. para. 126). In the quantitative examination of student population, however, the situation of Italy is worth considering in greater detail as it is not without analogy to that of other countries where the existence of part-time studies is not institu-

[1] For certain information concerning the years before 1970 we have also referred to the Unesco Statistical Study for 1965—1970.

[2] For the United Kingdom, the figure of 23.7 for 1974 already shows an increase since 1973, when the figure was 22.4% ; the Open University began to operate in 1973.

tionalized. A. Visalberghi, in his paper entitled **"New Forms of Higher Education in Italy, do they exist ?"** [1] gives a very good description of the situation, as well as of the statistical unrigorousness which it implies :

> "The Italian university system traditionally allows people, in some way and to some degree (differing greatly in the different fields of study) to get credits and to graduate even while working full-time... Most university professors will help the working student with the preparation of his doctoral thesis by accepting a subject connected with the student's working life... Nobody knows exactly how many of these students there are. Official figures tell us only that in 1974/75, for example, there were 165,321 students **fuori corso** (i.e. they enrolled after the regular period of their studies)... Nobody knows how many of these **fuori corso** students actually graduate or how long it takes them. Nor does anyone know how many of them are full-time or part-time workers".

(38) In spite of such uncertainties, it is possible to reach some overall conclusions from the table in para. 36. In all the countries where their existence is recognized, part-time studies attract, on the whole, a substantial proportion, but not the majority of students, the overall figure being somewhere between 20% and 40% and apparently remaining stable at this level. It is interesting to note that the highest level was reached in most of the countries between 1960 and 1970, followed by a certain decline. Where this decline occurred between 1965 and 1970, however, (with the exception of the German Democratic Republic) a recovery has been recorded, if only slight, — in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Poland, United Kingdom — and quite strong — in Yugoslavia — which testifies to the vitality of this form of participation in higher education. Apart from the German Democratic Republic, the decline in student population is also continuing in the U.S.S.R., which still leads the table on this point. In the countries where part-time studies have been recently institutionalized (Ireland, Norway) a rapid rise in student numbers has been noted.

(39) The results which can be hoped for from an international comparison by **field and level of study** are minimal. Everything has been said on this subject in pages 35 and 37 of the **"CEPES Statistical Study for 1970—1975"** : the levels as defined by CITE (Classification internationale type de l'éducation) are given widely different interpretations by the Member States, and it is hard to imagine how it could be otherwise, given the wide variety of institutional structures. The fields of study are equally very difficult to define precisely. In particular the distinction between education on the one hand, and research in humanities or exact and natural sciences on the other, is almost devoid of any meaning in countries where teachers in high schools, "gymnasiums" and every other sort of "higher" secondary school are trained entirely or in part, through channels

[1] Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

corresponding to Faculties of Humanities and Faculties of Natural Sciences and where, very often, all the courses in humanities or sciences lead, or can lead, to a teaching career as well as to a career in research. This problem leads to confusion in table 7 [1] : France appears to ignore "education" in its universities whereas Hungary would recognize "humanities" and "natural sciences" only at the doctorate level and not before. The invisible boundaries which separate Education and Humanities, Education and Pure Sciences are not only a problem of definition, they are a fact of life : in certain faculties, in courses linked to certain projects, the final choice of career can be made during the course of studies or even at the end of the studies, while in other cases — such as in a School of Agriculture or in a course of training for engineers — the choice of career is made as soon as the student applies for admission.

(40) As for fields which can be more clearly defined, it can be stated that in many countries — except, notably, Czechoslovakia, Portugal, Romania, Sweden and the U.S.S.R. — there is a fall in the percentage of students enrolled in engineering courses. This even applies to countries like Bulgaria, G.D.R., Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia where the training of engineers and agronomists has traditionally played a major part in higher education. The training of engineers in the Region seems to be confined now from 30% to 40%. The decrease is generally compensated by an increase in the field of Education and Humanities. It is interesting to note that a similar movement stands out — on different percentage levels — in certain countries where the social and political structure is not the same as that of the preceding countries : Denmark, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey.

(41) **The distribution of students by sex** shows a steady and substantial rise in the numbers of female students ; the proportion of women is now in the order of 50% in several European countries (Finland, France, Hungary, U.S.S.R.), and quite considerably exceeds half the student population in Bulgaria and the G.D.R. In most of the countries, female students constitute a third or more of the total student population. In no country is their percentage less than 28% [2]. Their share in the different fields of study remains very unequal. In almost all the countries in the Region the great majority of women can be found in the field of Education + Social Sciences + Humanities. In Humanities, women constitute an absolute majority in all the countries of the Region from whom we have the relevant statistics (in 1975 : Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia ; it is probably the same in the countries not mentioned).

(42) An examination of the **distribution of student numbers according to the social background of the students** would be of great importance in the

[1] See *Statistical Study on Higher Education in Europe, 1970—1975*, op. cit., pp. 39—48.
[2] Cf. table 4 of *Statistical Study 1970—1975, op. cit.*, pp. 18—19.

study of admission policies. Unfortunately, in most of the countries, the statistical bases for an examination of this sort are missing, and, where they do exist, the categories used are not directly comparable. Conditions are more favourable in the case of socialist countries who pursue, or have pursued, a policy of systematic promotion of young people of working class or peasant background at the time of admission, and who have followed up the results of these efforts, on a statistical plan, for decades. On the other hand, in some of these countries changes in definition of the social categories have intervened, often making the comparison uneasy. For the other countries, the data is fragmentary. This is undoubtedly the reason why the Unesco statistics do not take this parameter into account. Certain details on this subject will be given later in this study.

C. *Quantitative Aspects of the Recruitment Base*

(43) We have defined earlier (cf. para. 16) the recruitment base as being the group of "potential" students, the group of people who, in accordance with the legislation in force in the given country, have the right to seek admittance to an institution of higher education. The quantitative relation between the recruitment base and the group of newly enrolled students is, in principle, of obvious interest from the point of view of a description of the process of access. On the one hand, the recruitment base, by its dimensions and composition, determines the limits within which admission can take place : on the other hand, to assess the number of admitted students, to decide to what extent the process of admission is selective or non-selective, it is necessary to be able to compare the group of students who have been admitted with the group of those who could have been admitted. Normally, in most countries and particularly in the developed countries, such as practically all those in the European Region, the recruitment base is made up of quite an important section of the population because it includes — up to a certain age limit, in most cases, — all those who, every year, acquire the right to seek admission as students ; in practice, it includes all those adults, up to a certain age, who have completed secondary education (and even, in certain countries, all those adults who have had a certain amount of experience in gainful employment) (cf. infra. para. 127). To compare the number of admissions with an equally important section of the population would scarcely lead to conclusive results. After this chapter, in order to arrive at wholly comparable results, we will restrict ourselves to those who enter into the recruitment base every year, that is to say, to the cohort of young people who complete their secondary studies in the same year as their admission to an institution of higher education, thus having the right to seek this admission. It would be advisable to remember that this basis of calculation is in every way incomplete : not only because the secondary school leavers constitute only a tiny part, at any rate the minority, of the whole recruitment base, but also because, in many countries, the recruitment base is open, with certain constraints, to people who do not pass through the secondary system.

(44) There is no comparative statistics such as would make it possible to evaluate the relation in Europe (and even less elsewhere) between the recruitment base for higher education and the number of people actually admitted. Such a statistics — and the interpretation of its data — could only be the fruit of new researches. Therefore, the information which follows can be but fragmentary ; it will only serve to stimulate reflection and to provide a working hypothesis.

(45) The tables included in the Unesco Statistical Yearbook, are, from our point of view, rather difficult to use : in the tables for comparison dealing with secondary education, the different classes or stages are not detailed, so it is impossible to ascertain precisely the number of puplis who complete their secondary studies in any given year. In addition, as the duration of studies classed as "secondary" varies from country to country, from 2 to 8 years, any clear comparison of the number of pupils as a whole becomes illusory, particularly since it is not possible to evaluate this number in comparison with the corresponding age cohorts : let us add that in many cases, the figures given include those who are completing their secondary education at evening classes or by correspondence courses, which makes the picture even more confusing. Statistics taken at face value, and used with every possible precaution, give nevertheless a fleeting glimpse of the recent evolution of the recruitment base for higher education in the European countries.

(46) On referring to table 4.5 of the 1977 volume (published in 1978) of Unesco's Statistical Yearbook, one discovers that the number of secondary school pupils as a whole has perceptively risen — by around 40% or more — in a great number of European countries during the decade 1965—1975 (or the eleven years up to 1976, for certain countries). Since the generation which had reached the secondary education stage around 1965 was mainly born in the post-war "baby boom", whereas secondary school pupils in 1975—1976 were born at a time where, in most countries, birthrates were more or less at a low ebb — it can be said that the rise in the numbers of secondary school pupils generally corresponds to an even clearer rise in the numbers undertaking schooling in the corresponding age brackets. The countries in question are, notably, Austria, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Spain (where the number of secondary school pupils has trebled), Switzerland, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia.

(47) In all these countries the rise is of the same order, sometimes even more marked, in the category "second level, general" education, which is almost everywhere the majority group, within secondary education. Let us remember that the Statistical Yearbook (p. 19) defines "second level, general" as follows :

> "The term **second level, general** refers to education in "secondary schools" that provide general or specialized instruction based upon at least four years previous instruction at the first level, and which **do not** aim at preparing the pupils directly for a given trade or

> occupation. Such schools may be called high schools, middle schools, lyceums, gymnasiums, etc., and offer courses of study whose completion is a minimum condition for admission to university. In many countries... there has been a development of schools with the aim of providing both academic and vocational training. These "composite" secondary schools are considered as equivalent to the academic type of secondary school and are classified as "second level, general" [1].

(48) Most of the countries in which the growth has not been so spectacular, or where the student population has been more or less stationary, belong to the group of those in which the number of secondary school pupils had already reached the level of 4% to 10% of the population around 1965, which percentage, — according to the duration of secondary studies and the demographical situation — amounts to a substantial proportion (from almost a half to almost the totality) of the age groups concerned. This applies to countries like, for example, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. In most of the countries in this group the slight rise, or more or less steady level, of student population corresponds to a marked growth in the numbers undertaking schooling at the secondary level. Moreover, let us add that in some of these countries, in Denmark and U.S.S.R. for example [2], a relatively more marked growth can be noticed in the share of "general education" at secondary level, leading directly to access to higher education establishments.

(49) It can therefore be assessed that in the majority of the countries of the Region secondary school, and particularly general secondary school population, has clearly risen during the ten to twelve years since 1965. Taking into account the demographical variations, it is probably not amiss to affirm that in many countries these forces have doubled or even more than doubled. One must add that the simple numerical rise in general secondary education which inevitably leads to a growth in the "initial" recruitment base (the group which enters the recruitment base) is definitely not the only reason for this growth : the extension, in many countries, of the rights to admission to secondary schools other than general secondary schools (lyceums, gymnasiums, etc.) has also contributed, though undoubtedly to a lesser extent, to the swelling of the ranks of those who achieve the right, each year, to apply for admission to higher education.

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[1] In this definition the term "minimum" was already out of date in 1977 ; it should have been replaced by "usual" or "normal".

[2] Hungary could be added : the grouping of the figures for Hungary in the Statistical Yearbook, involuntarily falsifies the true facts : the figures which, by virtue of the definition quoted para. 47, should have appeared under "general education" are included in "other secondary education". This, undoubtedly, is also the case for other countries.

(50) This relative increase is naturally interpreted, according to the different countries, in very different contexts. In countries like U.S.S.R. and the United States, where schooling at the secondary level is almost universal, the great majority of age cohorts join the group of those who leave the secondary stage with the right to apply to enter the tertiary stage, in spite of an inevitable dropping out on the way. In countries where secondary schooling, and particularly "general" secondary schooling is more or less selective from the beginning, and where the drop out rate is high (see some examples below, para. 93) the situation is very different. but it seems that even there a considerable proportion — from 20% to a 30% of the age group — enters the recruitment base for higher education. So higher education in the European countries, if only because of recent developments [1] in education at the secondary level, copes every year with potential candidates amounting to a quarter, a half, or three quarters of the whole generation, and this is steadily growing in most of the states. The sociological and educational problems which this situation produces will be considered later (para. 60); some concrete examples — although mixed and chosen from the facts available — make it possible to consider the different possible solutions from a purely quantitative point of view.

(51) In certain European countries, particularly in Western Europe, the diploma or certificate attesting the completion of secondary studies and which opens the door to tertiary studies is awarded within a traditionally selective process. Thus, in the Federal Republic of Germany [2], rather fewer than a quarter of the respective age groups acquire the qualification required to apply for higher education **(Hochschulreife,** a general award, or **Hochschulreife** valid for certain specialized, or technological institutions only). The proportion was 9.7% in 1968, it reached 17.6% in 1973 and it is estimated that it will reach 29.7 by 1985. It is also noticeable that the annual number of new admissions to the institutions of higher education usually remains the same or — consequent to postponed admissions, such as admissions delayed by several years after obtaining the **Hochschulreife** — it is slightly higher than that of the young people who gain the qualification necessary for admission. In accordance with the **Bildungsgesamtplan** of 1973 [3] 22% to 24% of an age group would go in for higher education in 1985, and 24% to 28% would by that time have obtained the **Hochschulreife.** The group of students newly admitted is thus **grosso modo** as important, in this context, as the annual growth in the recruitment base.

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[1] From all accounts, this is an evolution which has been happening for decades, and the years 1965-1975 which have just been mentioned serve to demonstrate the continuation of a phenomenon which began after the last war in most of the European countries.

[2] The details given in this paragraph are extracts from the paper SME/ET/76.6 of the OECD, *Admission Policies in Post Secondary Education. Admission to Higher Education in Germany* (1976) prepared by H. Müller-Sorger, in particular Table 3, p. 13.

[3] Cf. H. Müller-Sorger, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

(52) In spite of the obvious differences in the structures of the educational system and the selection methods, the situation in France [1] bears a striking resemblance, with respect to the quantitative aspect, to that of the Federal Republic of Germany. The number of those who have acquired the secondary school leaving certificate (including the holders of technical baccalauréats since 1969) is constantly rising, not only in absolute terms but also with reference to the age groups corresponding to the normal age for obtaining the **baccalauréat** ; the percentages, with reference to the average age group of 18—20 years, are 11.3% for 1960, 19.5% for 1968, and 21.8% for 1972 (the last year for which our documentation allows us to make a direct comparison with the number of newly admitted students). In the same years, the percentage of newly admitted students in an institution of higher education, calculated with regard to the same age groups, was respectively 12.0%, 20.7% and 22.8%, thus still slightly higher than that of the holders of secondary school leaving certificates in the corresponding years. Even though all the school leavers do not move towards higher education in the same year as they obtain their **baccalauréat** [2], the great majority of them do so each year. The number of new enrolments includes holders of secondary school diplomas from the preceding years, students with foreign diplomas, candidates who have satisfied the examiners in special entrance examinations ; the statistics also include a certain number of double enrolments. This explains why the number of new enrolments is almost always slightly higher than the number of holders of secondary school diplomas in the same year. On a purely quantitative basis, the situation is analogous, as has been said, with that which has been observed in the Federal Republic of Germany : setting aside slight fluctuations, the annual increase in the recruitment base is absorbed by the admissions.

(53) In contrast to these countries in which secondary education leading to tertiary education is highly selective, we have, at the other end of the scale, countries like U.S.S.R. and the United States where the great majority of the age group, if not almost the whole, undertakes secondary education. The statistical complexity of the situation in countries of this size makes any detailed description impossible ; one can only observe some general trends. In the United States [3], completing high school is now part of the normal school career ; 95.1% of the 14 to 17 age group was in school in 1976, and by 1977, 85.4% of the 25 to 29 age group had high school diplomas. The rate of admission into higher education is shown to

[1] The details given in this paragraph are extracts from France's reply to the Questionnaire ("Elements pour le questionnaire du CEPES sur l'accès à l'enseignement supérieur en Europe" provided by the permanent delegation of France to Unesco, particularly III/7 and IV).

[2] In 1975, 75% of qualified school leavers entered higher education (cf. France's reply to the Questionnaire — reply to question IV).

[3] The details which appear in this paragraph are taken from *The Condition of Education* (Statistical Report, 1978 edition) particularly in tables 1.8, 1.16, 2.21 and 3.12.

be particularly high : in 1974 out of a little over 3 million pupils leaving high school, there were 1,854,000 new enrolments, which is about 60%, from which one should deduct an imprecise, but nevertheless important, percentage of those who enrolled several years after finishing secondary education. From this it can be seen that the numbers undertaking education in the 18 to 25 age brackets remain very high, no doubt concentrated in the first years of college. As is shown by a longitudinal study on the secondary school leavers in 1972, out of 57.5% who undertook higher studies, only about 18% succeeded in achieving the normal qualification of bachelor within the normal span of time, the others resting content, during the period 1972—1976, with several years of college without obtaining a diploma, or with progressing, with delays and interruptions, towards their first university degree. Thus, contrary to what occurs in France and the Federal Republic of Germany, the increased recruitment base is not absorbed by higher education ; a process of selection is effected on it either on entry or — more often — during higher education.

(54) In U.S.S.R., secondary education being general and obligatory, the great majority of young people in a generation enter the recruitment base for higher education, except for those who enter a "vocational school" for two or three years after completing the 8th year at secondary school. Gradually, however, these "vocational schools" are being themselves transformed in such a way as to give their pupils an equal right, with or without extra constraints, to apply for admission into an institution of higher education. After entrance examinations which eliminate more than two thirds of the candidates [1], the number undertaking education in the 20—24 age group is clearly lower than in the United States [2], but as the great majority of those who gain admittance also qualify for a diploma at the end of a specified number of years, with a very small drop-out rate, there is little selection effected within the higher education system itself. The annual growth in the recruitment base, therefore, perceptibly exceeds the number of new enrolments, and a parallel can be drawn on this point between the United States and U.S.S.R. even if the terms of access, to refer merely to the purely quantitative process, differ only slightly.

(55) Most of the countries of the Region stand between the two extremes represented on the one hand by the Federal Republic of Germany and France, where the relatively modest annual growth in the recruitment base is entirely absorbed by admissions, and, on the other hand, by U.S.S.R. and the United States, where the annual increase in the recruitment base is equivalent to almost the whole age group, but where the admissions only partially balance this increase.

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[1] In U.S.S.R., in 1974, the number of candidates was 2.4 times higher than that of admissions ; similar figures exist for other years (cf. Sipos-Sándor, *A Comparative Analysis, op. cit.*, p. 162).

[2] For example, 29.5% in 1965, 23.2% in 1971 *(ibid.)*.

2. The Sociological Consequences of the Quantitative Changes.

(56) The conclusions which emerge from the preceding paragraphs are, briefly, as follows :

a) Since 1970, the absolute and relative number of students has risen in almost all countries of the Region, even if the rate of growth has been generally lower than between 1960 and 1970. Actually a rate of 150 to 200 students out of 10,000 inhabitants seems to be the average level in the Region, a rate of under 100 or over 250 being very unusual. This shows, **grosso modo,** that between 10% and 15% of the generation which has now reached around 20 years of age is undertaking higher education.

b) The composition of the student body has hardly changed at all since the decade 1960—1970 ; the trend towards a more or less equal representation of women — naturally varying according to subjects of study — has been maintained, accompanied by a slight but notable lessening of interest, in the whole student body, in the technological and scientific disciplines. After various fluctuations in the different countries, the proportion of part-time students remains at a substantial level (20% to 40% without, generally, rising to make up the majority.

c) The quantitative evolutions summed up in points a) and b) also show a steady and significant increase in the number of potential candidates for admission, that is to say in the recruitment base for higher education. In most of the countries, the annual growth in the recruitment base slightly exceeds the increase in the annual number of admissions which is the same as saying that the bulk of those who should have the right, in principle, to apply for admission to higher education, continues to grow.

(57) Contrary to the recession or crisis forecast by some writers as soon as there were signs of a slowing down of the rate of growth, the years since 1970 are notable for a stabilisation, a sort of confirmation of the quantitative levels and proportions reached during the very rapid evolution of the preceding decade, there is even continued growth, if generally slower. In Europe, there have emerged systems of higher education which differ radically from those which used to operate until around the middle of this century or at any rate until the end of the last war ; at that time the student population was in fact five to ten times lower than at present, amounting only to a few thousandths of the population and representing barely one or two percent of the generation concerned ; there were hardly any "adult" students, and the narrow recruitment base was filled each year by a certain number of very elitist secondary schools.

(58) The radical change in the latter half of the century has considerably altered the characteristics and sociological conditions of access. A rapid analysis of these changes will make for a better understanding of the factors on whose interaction admission policies are based.

(59) It should be mentioned first of all that given the importance of the recruitment base, the admission process brings into play, in one way or another, the socio-professional profile of the whole of society. In countries where a third, half or three quarters of each age cohort acquires the right to apply for admission to higher education, the questions of what fraction of this considerable group will actually move in the direction of tertiary education, how many will be effectively admitted, and what branches of study they will take, relate to the very structure of the division of labour in the relatively near future.

(60) It is noticeable, in fact, that in 1970—1971 — the last period for which we have comparable statistics concerning the majority of the European States — the proportion of graduates from higher education in the active population was, in all, between 4% and 9% in most of the countries [1]. This rate, itself the result of a very rapid rise since the post-war years, has undoubtedly risen since then, consequent to the entry into life in employment of the large numbers of students of the sixties ; it would be true to say that it seems to reflect, with slight fluctuations, the average proportion of graduates in the active population of present industrial societies. Now this proportion is, from every point of view, greatly lower than that of the recruitment base for higher education within the age groups completing secondary education because, in Europe, at least a quarter, most frequently half and, in some countries, almost all the age cohorts acquire the right to apply for admission to an institution of tertiary education. What emerges from this is that the transformation of the whole of the annual recruitment base into fully employed graduates — and employed according to the professional rights conferred on them by their degree — would be practically impossible, because, in a few years' time, it would completely overturn the professional structure of societies. This quantitative pressure brings with it consequences of which it should suffice to extract the most important :

(i) The regularization, normally at state level, of the flow leading from the recruitment base for higher education to the graduated members of the population in employment has become unavoidable in the course of these last decades ; in other words, it has become necessary to conceive and carry out a higher education policy which involves, above all, an admission policy. It is true, even in cases where this policy is tacit, implicit or based on the automatic functioning of socio-economic regulators filtering, without administrative or legislative intervention, the flow of the "clientele" : a policy of non-intervention does still constitute a policy.

(ii) Thanks to the fact that the recruitment base in most of the countries extends to a crucial section, often to the majority, of the appropriate age groups, the questions concerning access to higher education are now being posed to a great mass of the population, that is to say, to a large pro-

[1] On the basis of *Statisztikák*, I, pp. 254—255.

portion, often to the majority of young people in a generation, and consequently to their families. Some decades ago, access meant nothing more than a choice of career for the young offspring of a narrow and relatively closed stratum of society, destined by their social position for an intellectual profession or a career in management. From now on this choice is a socio-cultural choice, often a manifestation of the wish for social mobility at the same time as a choice of career ; it is a process which is engaging, in one way or another, an ever-growing section of the population, and it assumes accordingly, in industrial societies of the European type, a political significance the full depth of which has yet to be measured. Since admission policies usually serve to minimize quantitative contradictions and are accordingly selective and limitative, the political repercussions they cause in society often lead to tension, to sociological frustration which is the stronger the more selective the admission policies are.

(61) The quantitative evolutions set out in paras 45—55 evince, among other things, a sociological trend which is involving the whole educational process, and which goes beyond the boundaries of higher education ; we will confine ourselves to mentioning it here. The notable broadening of secondary education constituting the recruitment base for higher education makes it possible for an evergrowing section of the appropriate age group to postpone slightly the moment of decision between an advanced training and a job which does not need such a training. Although, traditionally, such a decision is made in most countries, according to their systems, between the age of 10 and 14 years, the increase in the numbers of pupils undertaking "general" secondary education delays the moment of this decision for a considerable number of young people, and in certain countries like the United States and U.S.S.R. for the great majority of young people, until 17 or 18 years of age. The implications of this change are numerous : from the point of view of this study, it means, above all, that the filtering system by which future graduates are selected from the age cohort operates less and less at the beginning of the secondary level — when socio-economic, family and private pressures which condition individual choices are still dominant — and more and more at the beginning of the tertiary level, when the importance of socio-cultural choices of the interested individuals and the impact of academic or administrative selection procedures already predominate.

Part Three

ADMISSION POLICY

1. Typology and Trends.

(62) As with all policies, admission policies can become apparent at several levels. In certain countries, one can rightfully speak of different admission policies according to different institutions; in the United States, for example, the admission policy of the New York City University, which admits all high-school leavers is diametrically opposed to the policy pursued by such and such an elite Ivy League institution. In other countries, the admission policy is centralized, and all the institutions have to do is adapt the appropriate national legislation or directives sent out by a government authority to their own particular situations. Such is the case — setting aside important differences in method and principle — in the majority of continental European countries, naturally including the socialist countries. In addition, when taken as a whole, widely different policies at the institutional level, sometimes constitute quite a coherent policy at a more general level. This is the case in the different states of the United States ; it goes without saying that California, for example, has a higher education policy, and therefore an admission policy, which is coherent, clearly formulated and extremely well thought out ; furthermore, it is reasonable to talk about an admission policy at federal level in the United States in spite of the extreme autonomy and diversity of the institutions. From another angle, it is possible that a central order or legislation imposes very different practices on institutions with respect to admission : this is known to be the case in France, among others, where the **grandes écoles**, elitist and very selective schools differ, traditionally at least, from universities which, in principle, open their doors to all holders of secondary school diplomas. In any case, it is the overall policies, the policies in force at the national level, which are of most interest from the point of view of this study, the more so because, for reasons which will clearly emerge from the analysis of quantitative trends, as it is exactly this emergence of national policies, of admission

policies advocated or laid down by central authorities, which characterizes among other things the overall university picture of these last decades in Europe.

(63) The notion of access implies a selection process, the recruitment base for higher education being of necessity broader — if only by laws which are almost laws of nature — than the group of new entrants into higher education. Seen from the point of view of the process of access, an admission policy therefore inevitably assumes a selective aspect, because such a policy is obliged to regularize the flow from the recruitment base to institutions of higher education. This inevitable selectivity does not rule out the possibility of an increase, year by year, in the number of students newly enrolled ; while being selective from the point of view of the method of admission, an admission policy can still be a growth policy, whether it seeks to enlarge the recruitment base so as to increase the number of admissions, or whether it advocates an increase in the number of admissions according to a given recruitment base. This has happened repeatedly in many countries during the last decades. In the socialist countries, the initiation of a planned economy and the considerable effort at industrialization of the early years was inevitably accompanied by a policy of growth in the area of higher education and, consequently, by an admission policy dominated by a need for growth. This need for growth became obvious, though in a less systematic way, in a number of other countries after the Second World War, between 1955 and 1960 ; under the impact of a number of social, economic, and demographical factors, and doubtlessly also under the "psychological shock" of the first Soviet sputnik, most of the Western European countries, and North America, adopted a deliberate policy of rapid growth. To sum up, although in discussing admission policies there is the recent tendency to consider them only in terms of the wish for slowing down, restriction and limitation, it has been shown (cf. above para. 57) that expansion, though certainly controlled, measured and definitely slacked, remains the fundamental trend in the development of higher education systems in most of the countries of Europe. This means that the policies continue at least, to concede the inevitable and necessary expansion in student numbers.

(64) It should be stressed that in most cases admission policies of the states are expansionist as well as selective. The examples are many and various. Since 1963, the development of higher education in Britain has been based on the proposals of the **Robbins Report**, which incorporates the ideological conception of university expansion : "courses of higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so" ; at the same time the university institutions in the United Kingdom, in order to maintain their academic standards, employ a distinctly selective admission policy (cf. para. 71), which is a way of carrying out the type of policy of growth which has been the general policy until recent years. In most of the socialist countries, where the expansion in schooling has overtaken the increase in university students, a system of entrance selection has had

to be enforced at a time of expansion in university education. This seems natural, however. A policy of growth in higher education could only be maintained for any length of time if the increase in students at the tertiary level were based on a constant broadening of the recruitment base, in other words, on the development of secondary education and possibly on the extension of the right to apply for admission to a higher education institution. The broadening of the recruitment base inevitably creates a spontaneous excessively large demand which higher education, even expanding quickly, would be incapable of satisfying, at least in the immediate future. So at first sight the need for selection appears to be a corollary to a policy of growth. In the course of the last years, however, selection procedures, which have been becoming more and more important in order to maintain a balance in increasingly difficult economic conditions, have sometimes seemed to take on a kind of autonomous justification and thus to hide from the observer the true nature and objectives of the admission policies.

(65) If necessary, admission policies are concerned not only with the overall access to higher education, but also with the composition of this access by field of study, type of institution, etc. We have examples on this subject which are heterogeneous and yet, in a certain sense, concordant. The socialist countries provide the clearest and simplest example of this diversified admission policy : the number of eligible students is, in most of these countries, fixed annually in accordance with the forecasts of the plan and with the estimated needs of the national economy. After a certain period, this method has resulted in substantial changes, in the proportion of graduates from the different disciplines. It should be added that an apparently simple policy such as this can only be put into effect with difficulty because of fluctuations in the recruitment base. A similar policy exists, or has existed, in many other countries as well, although there is a difference, or at least there seems to be one, in the various capacities of absorption of the different types of institutions, and consequently in the more or less selective admission procedures of the individual institutions ; this is the case in Sweden, in the Federal Republic of Germany and in several other countries including a socialist country like Yugoslavia.

(66) Finally, we must stress a peculiarity of a formal nature which was put forward with eloquence in the replies to the Unesco Questionnaire. Certainly, in the Europe of the last two decades, admission policy is a constant and actual concern with the states; but the way in which the different policies are issued, stated, codified, formalized differs considerably from country to country. In certain states, like Austria or the Federal Republic of Germany, the principles on which admission to establishments of higher education is based are set out at the level of the constitution, but the policy as such is born out of the comparison of these principles with the evolution of the actual situation. In many countries, such as some of the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Spain and many others,

the admission policy is explicitly based on specific legislation, laws concerning universities etc. In most of the socialist countries, this policy emerges from general planning principles and is finalized — by the often annual decisions — of the appropriate Ministries or Central Administrations. Finally, in some countries, and the United States provides the clearest, if not an extreme example — the statistical evolution of the process reveals the existence of an apparently implicit and pragmatic access policy which nevertheless constitutes, here and now, thanks to studies and agreements which are often unofficial, a sort of body of belief. All these differences are evidently the result of the diversity of the countries' traditions and structures ; however, they illustrate very well the variety of roles which the states assume in the directing of the process of access.

2. The Factors which determine Admission Policies

(67) As the higher education systems — in so far as it is justified to speak of a system in the strict sense of the word — could not be either understood or even studied without taking into account the socio-cultural and economic environment in which they evolve, higher education policies and, particularly, admission policies are themselves very closely linked with the general policy of the states and with innumerable factors which determine this policy. Nevertheless it is known that the educational systems, by their very nature, represent relatively stable elements in spite of the numerous reforms which affect them ; as for higher education, and the university system in particular, in spite of certain changes and of a rapid expansion, they evince a considerable **vis inertiae** with respect to their basic characteristics. This is one of the reasons why it is possible to examine admission policies as relatively autonomous problems, definitively determined by their interdependence with general policies, but preserving their distinctive features. The factors contributing to their distinctiveness are so complex that it is impossible to describe or classify them without appearing high-handed. To clarify this study we will try, nevertheless, to distinguish the factors relating to the intrinsic situation, to the structure and traditions of the educational system, and particularly to higher education ; those factors pertaining to the objectives and functions allocated to higher education ; those, finally, relating to the question of available resources. It is not possible for this study to be completely systematic or exhaustive ; nevertheless, it may make for a better understanding of the subtle play of influences affecting options that sometimes can seem simple.

A. *The Condition and the Traditions of the Education System*

(68) Every admission policy presupposes a context which allows it to be enforced. This context is above all educational : a policy of expansion — when it is not merely a question of an increase over one or two years — can only be successful if it relies on an educational system which ensures a big enough recruitment base ; conversely, a limited policy, if it is to be tolerated without social tension, and if it is to work in a satisfactory

and acceptable fashion, over extended periods of time, imposes a whole series of conditions on the educational and university systems. On the other hand, certain mutations in the education and university system contribute themselves, should the occasion arise, to the formation of pressure groups in favour of such and such an admission policy.

(i) Secondary Education

(69) Since recruitment for higher education always relies, in the first instance, on pupils completing secondary education, their numbers usually constitute a sort of natural limit beyond which, in the long run, even in the case of an obviously expansionist policy, it is impossible to exceed the number of new entrants into higher education. It should be added that this limit appears to be hardly ever reached — at any rate continuously. In Europe this seems to be the case particularly in heavily industrialized states which have at the same time in their structure secondary school systems comparatively conservative and of proportionally reduced dimensions (about one quarter of the age group).

(70) This close correlation between the number of secondary school leavers and the capacity to receive them at the tertiary stage does undoubtedly have the advantage of not imposing general restrictions on admission, but it leaves those responsible for carrying out such a policy with very little room to manoeuvre in the immediate future. It seems, however, that this is the exception rather than the rule. In most cases, the quantitative evolution of secondary education has been particularly dynamic in the course of the last decades in Europe and this has imposed noticeable and sometimes contradictory constraints on admission policies.

(71) A sort of standard evolution seems to take place in the countries where the fast, and sometimes very considerable, expansion at the secondary level goes side by side with the introduction of admission policies. The latter, while remaining — or becoming — policies for growth, nevertheless provide for a selection process since the policies tend to advocate an increase in student numbers in higher education which is lower than the increase in secondary education. This selection process, this slowing-down of the growth in higher education compared with secondary education, may be based, according to the various states, on different considerations (fixed number, therefore limited by the needs of the economy for specialists ; inadequacy of enrolment capacity of higher education ; determination to maintain the standards of university education) and sometimes the interplay of several considerations. An evolution of this sort can be seen in states where the structures are, in other respects, very different. In the United Kingdom, for example, the reform of secondary education based on the "comprehensive school" put an end to the quasi-monopoly of the "grammar schools" in the preparation of pupils for university admittance and, by this decade, the majority of the appropriate age groups in the secondary school cycle enter the examinations which can qualify them to progress to higher education. However, continuous

selection during schooling noticeably reduces the number of potential candidates, and the admission process itself eliminates as many as 50% [1]. If the British method serves to maintain, thanks to academic criteria, a sensible balance between the consequences of an academic explosion and the demands of a higher education system based on individual contact between professor and student, the pressure is much more apparent in the countries which have reached the stage when a sort of dam is needed to stem the flow of candidates as their volume threatens to drown the institutions of higher education. In Turkey, for example, the rapid increase in the number of candidates for higher education made it necessary to set up central selection systems as early as 1963 and to perfect them in 1974 ; the number of candidates examined by these systems rose from 33,763 in 1964 to 357,454 in 1977, which suggests an admission policy which can only become more rigorous : "About 2/3 of the applicants can not enter an institute of higher education even now. This percentage is bound to go up higher since the rate of increase in the number of applicants to higher education... is much bigger than the rate of increase in the capacity of higher education programs" [2].
The recent evolution in Portugal provides an example of the interaction between the development of the educational system and the admission policies : following the rapid increase in the number of candidates, the generalized **numerus clausus,** set up as a yardstick aimed at protecting a still weak higher education system, had to be introduced in 1977 [3]. The example of most of the socialist countries in Europe proves, moreover, from another angle, that an apparently paradoxical link exists between growth policy and selectivity ; in these countries where a gradual generalization in secondary education has taken place, selective entrance examinations have been introduced more or less side by side with the rapid growth in secondary students, so as to adjust the number of higher education students to the needs and forecasts of the national economy.

(72) At the university policy level, the strengthening of the selection process is not the only way of dealing with the expansion in secondary education and the broadening of the recruitment base ; the diversification of higher education, the creation of and the numerical increase in institutions of short-cycle higher education enables a considerable number of new students to be admitted at post-secondary level. In Europe, the most typical example seems to be that of Norway, where the desire to make access to higher education available to everyone qualified for it gave birth to the system of "Regional Colleges". In the United States it is thanks to

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[1] Cf. D. Vincent, *England and Wales, in Admission to Higher Education in Sixteen Countries and some International Developments,* edited by Frances M. Ottobre, Princeton, 1976, pp. 63—77, and H. R. Pitt, in *Consultation for the Preparation of a Study on Access to Higher Education in Europe,* CEPES, 1978, pp. 101—108.
[2] A. Günalp, *Admission of Students to Higher Education in Turkey,* Ankara, 1978, pp. 5 and 16.
[3] Cf. Reply by Portugal to the CEPES Questionnaire, and Portugal, *Education and Science, 1973—1980,* Unesco, Third Conference of Ministers of Education of the European Member States, 1980.

the enormous expansion in "colleges" and other forms of short-term higher education that the majority of high-school leavers can be absorbed. These developments throw a new and extremely interesting light on the history of the systems of higher education in Europe, but it should be remembered, however, that these diversified systems still imply selective transition between short-cycle and long-cycle, "colleges' and universities, basic and "post-graduate" courses.

(73) The interaction between admission policy and educational system does not stop there. Since in many countries the admission policy responds to the massive expansion in secondary education by proportionally greater selectivity — even in the context of university expansion — "general" secondary education is also obliged to alter ; from now on it must prepare pupils not only for entry into institutions of higher education, as has been its traditional function, but also, at least to a certain extent, for more or less direct entry into employment. On this question, however, the distinction between general secondary education and technical secondary education, vocational education and others is blurred. This situation, by counter-blow, forces the educational decision makers, in a legitimate concern for democratization, to grant to pupils in vocational secondary schools the right to apply for admission to institutions of higher education. Eventually the recruitment base expands further, which can lead to a reinforced selectivity in the admission process in the long run. This is an evolution which can be seen in a number of the European countries and which is demonstrated, among others, in the replies of Sweden and Finland, to the CEPES Questionnaire. Certain aspects of this evolution will be examined later, (para. 131).

(ii) Higher Education

(74) To a certain extent, the state and structure of higher education itself can be included among the factors which mould and influence admission policies. We are not discussing its physical state, its entrance capacity, here, since this will be discussed in the chapter on resources (paras. 82—86). We are thinking more of the interdependance which exists between the organization and the conception of training in a given system or institution, and the selective or non-selective, eliminatory or non-eliminatory nature of the admission process. It is noticeable, in fact, that systems and institutions which offer their students certain advantages or privileges (subsistence grants, accommodation, guaranteed employment at the end of the course) presuppose, for obvious economic reasons, a relatively exclusive recruitment and, normally, a selective access. It is in this way that the socialist countries, in their concern to raise the social standing of working-class and peasant students by granting them scholarships and various material assistance, and by guaranteeing jobs to those who qualify at the end of the course, have quite naturally had to adjust the number of admissions to the forecasts of the planned economy. The **grandes écoles** in France provide another example : in a system of higher education otherwise based on the principle of non-selective admission, they practise

rigorously competitive selection. This is why, to give a final example, the generous British system of scholarships goes hand in hand with selective entry which, while preserving its flexible methods, is none the less extremely eliminatory.

(iii) Traditions, Attitudes of Public Opinion

(75) In every European society, the preconceived idea of a man's career in people's minds, the typical and traditional curriculum vitae which leads to success, presupposes the necessity of higher education — brilliant or adventurous. Conforming with a very European scale of values, the scholar, the inventor, the philosopher, the doctor and the engineer occupy a favoured position, next to the artist and the sportsman, in the heroes' gallery. In addition, the careers to which higher education leads involve real advantages almost everywhere in Europe : unspectacular, but nevertheless higher, salaries than those of other social categories, jobs which are more or less immune from political or business worries, a social prestige which is assured, and fairly small risks of unemployment. In intellectual families, in what is called in western countries the "middle classes", the access of the young people to higher education amounts to the upholding of the family status or even to a further ascent ; among the low-paid workers, manual workers and peasants, the higher education of the new generation means security of social mobility. Hence the extreme sensitivity of public opinion — particularly non-university public opinion — regarding everything which might seem to interfere with freedom of access to higher education. It is well-known that in France, in the last years, every attempt by the authorities to restrict access to universities caused waves of protest, and the introduction of a very selective transitional examination in the second year of medical studies provoked violent controversy. In Sweden, the well-known scheme for university reform called U 68 made provision, at the outset, for the introduction of a general planning of access, which would have inevitably reduced the number of admissions in faculties with free access ; reacting to the violent criticism which this initiative provoked, they opted for a system of open access for most of the "free" faculties (for more details see para. 117).

(76) If, in countries where access to entry is not selective, or is only partially so, public opinion seems very much against any strengthening of selection procedures, it seems that in countries which are traditionally used to a mainly or generally selective access procedure, at least in recent decades, public opinion seems to accept this state of affairs with no difficulty. For the United Kingdom, H. R. Pitt states : "Education on a more massive scale would be achieved if admission standards were reduced, but there appears not to be very strong political demand for this at present, and the present balance between numbers, school achievement and

motivation is generally accepted" [1]. In Greece, the **numerus clausus** system has existed, in more or less modified form, since 1929 ; it seems to be common place, and, in spite of some violent debates concerning education, it has not been seriously questioned. In the socialist countries, where admission is by competition, with the number of places available fixed in advance, this system is now part of the normal functioning of the institutions ; but it would be wrong to pretend that public opinion pays no attention to it. In Hungary, for example, the admission procedures were the subject of a big public debate, in 1978 and 1979, which resulted in substantial modifications to the rules of competition, even though they were scrupulously elaborated and the smallest details carefully weighed.

B. *Functions and Objectives of Higher Education*

(77) The typical and fundamental activities carried out by the institutions of higher education certainly do not differ very much, in Europe, from one country to another ; the standard university is concerned with teaching and research ; in some very specialized post-graduate institutions teaching is provided mainly through the medium of research and emphasis is placed on the latter. Finally, in many non-university higher institutions, teaching, usually aimed at a particular vocational training, is generally disconnected with research which has become, in many institutions of this kind, purely extra, or even accidental. However, according to their political and economic situation and structure, their general policy and their predominant ideology, the states may have very different conceptions of the aims and objectives of these essentially similar activities, and the differences in conception have a more or less strong bearing on their admission policies and the way in which they are put into effect.

(78) There are usually two almost opposite policies and schools of thought on this subject. In certain countries in fact — and this refers mainly to the socialist countries — the predominant, determining function of higher education should be to contribute to the economic development of society, to the building-up of a socialist society through the training of highly qualified specialists. The organization of teaching and research should therefore subordinate to this essential aim and, from all evidence, it is in this perspective that the number and distribution of future specialists should be determined. This concept would have to be combined with a more or less strict planning of admissions, and, on the other hand, with the assurance of a job in society, for the newly-trained specialist, commensurate with his qualifications. In other countries, mainly in Western Europe, higher education would be conceived as a system of institutions which should provide : a) training with or without direct vocational relevance and intended for people desirous or capable of benefiting from such knowledge ; b) training related to disinterested, in principle non-vocational research in the university-type institutions ; c) training which

[1] *Cf. Consultation for the Preparation of a Study on Access to Higher Education in Europe, op. cit.*, pp. 103—104.

would be more practical-oriented than in the former instances. This concept would be logically linked to an admission policy adapted to society's demands for higher education, limited only in cases where the admission capacity of institutions is proved to be too small to satisfy the demand.

(79) In reality, this dichotomy, although rife in certain approximate analyses and in oratorical exercises, is less sharp than it would appear. More and more frequently the authorities of the socialist countries stress that higher education should serve the harmonious development of the individual at the same time as satisfying the needs of society [1], that admissions should take account of the interest of the individual [2], etc. This is not just a simple declaration of intent ; these views are clearly expressed in the organization and expansion of university evening and distance courses for adults in most of the socialist countries as part of the overall effort to open up higher education to people who are already in employment. On the other hand, a concern to put higher education to the service of economic and social development is not absent in countries not being socialist states, although these countries, in accordance with the principles operating in their economic systems, discard the idea of an overall planning of admission figures.

(80) In a final analysis, it is not the selective or non-selective admission policies which are in conflict, in the train of the differences in the concepts of the objectives in higher education. In a more or less transitory or partial way, every admission policy is selective, because every admission policy aims, among other things, to regulate access to a steady flow. It is the selection criteria and, to a certain extent, the methods of regulation and selection applied which vary according to the various conceptions.

(81) It should be added that, for social and political reasons, many countries feel that higher education should act as a lever to improve social mobility, particularly "inter-generation" mobility [3], and to regulate the discrepancies in development and education between different regions. Thus it emerges, especially from Bulgaria's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire, that admission candidates originating from less developed areas benefit from preferential treatment provided by regulations ; many countries give systematic preference to working-class or peasant candidates (cf. for more details para. 136) and on this subject it is interesting to quote the United States' reply which, with prudent pragmatism, sets out certain analogous preoccupations : "the President of the United States... said that he dislikes to endorse quotas for minority groups or women or anyone else, but that it is appropriate for government and institutions of higher education to compensate for past discrimination. One case in which quotas may be acceptable would be in limiting the acceptance of out-of-state students in tax-supported state institutions".

[1] See I. V. Vorobiov, *Study on Access to Higher Education*, op. cit., p. 2.
[2] See Hungary's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire.
[3] By inter-generation mobility, we mean the progress achieved in social and professional mobility from one generation to the next generation.

C. *The Resources*

(82) According to the statistics published on the occasion of the Second Conference of Ministers of Education of European Member States (Bucharest, 1973) [1], in 20 of the 25 states registered, the rate of increase in public expenditure devoted to higher education exceeded, between 1960 and 1970, the rate of increase in public expenditure for education as a whole. In certain countries like Denmark, Finland, France, Sweden and the United Kingdom, the difference was very marked. In the United Kingdom, for example, the average annual rate of increase was 19.3% for higher education, against only 11% for education as a whole [2]. It seems that the situation has been changing considerably since 1970. According to the statistics published on the occasion of the Sofia Conference [3], the percentage of expenditure for higher education against that for education as a whole has fallen since 1971 in at least 12 countries, and rather spectacularly in France and the United Kingdom ; elsewhere it has been a case of reaching a maximum rather than an actual increase ; a real increase was only recorded in four states (Ireland, Netherlands, Poland, Yugoslavia). The evolution is difficult to predict ; it is possible that by the end of the century when the generalization of secondary education will have been practically accomplished, the percentage for higher education will be seen to have increased ; for the moment, in most of the countries, the percentage of public expenditure for higher education in the overall picture of education seems to be set at around 15%. In principle, this arrest in growth could be ascribed to a certain disaffection with higher education. Nevertheless it should be mentioned that the lower percentage for higher education in the overall expenditure on education has been recorded, since 1971, in such countries — among them France and the United Kingdom — where the proportion of 20—24 year olds in education has risen considerably in the same period ; the arrest in budgetary expansion therefore reflects a governmental policy or at least a restraint experienced at government level.

(83) It is not surprising, in these circumstances, that a considerable number of replies to the CEPES Questionnaire make special reference to the lack of resources available, considering the evolution of student population in recent years. We will confine ourselves to some typical quotations. Austria, which considers the right to higher education as a constitutional right, nevertheless states : "If the budgetary policy is restrictive, the quantitative flow to traditional university studies... can

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[1] *Higher Education in Europe, Problems and Perspectives, Statistical Study*, Unesco, doc. ED-73/MINEUROP. II/Ref.1.

[2] Second Conference of Ministers of Education of the European Member States, "*Higher Education in Europe, Statistical Study*", Unesco, 1978, table 1.

[3] Third Conference of Ministers of Education of Member States of the European Region, *Development of Education in Europe : Statistical Analysis*, Unesco, 1980, table 25.

cause problems of capacity". The mechanism which generates a lack of resources is explained with frankness by the Federal Republic of Germany ; in fact, after explaining that the **numerus clausus** system is necessitated by the difficulty which the graduates encounter in being absorbed by the labour market, the reply continues : "The legal system of the Federal Republic of Germany, does not allow any direct steering of admission to higher education on the basis of manpower requirements. Manpower requirements are considered, however, with respect to university buildings and staffing".

(84) In most of the countries where the authorities pay official attention to this factor, the lack of resources is presented as a "lack of places" in faculties and other institutions ; it is not necessarily a constant factor, but a situation which occurs occasionally from year to year, in certain groups of institutions or certain particular institutions rather than in the system as a whole. In some countries, the institutions themselves, in principle, are entrusted with keeping an eye on this situation. Ireland's reply says, for example : "...the demand for places in third-level courses is so much greater than the places available that the institutions limit places in all courses with the exception of Arts courses, where all applicants with the minimum entry qualifications are accepted. The justification for **numerus clausus** is the availability of places within existing resources, both staff and facilities, e.g. laboratories, training places etc." It happens also that in giving the eventual lack of study places as the only legally acceptable reason for limiting access to higher education, the states are expressing their approval of the principle of non-selective entry as well as of the possibility of selection in the case of a specified **vis maior**. Thus we read in the reply from the Netherlands : "Under the existing legislation a **numerus clausus** may be imposed only if the teaching capacity in a particular subject is in danger of being inadequate for the number of students enrolling".

(85) It is interesting and important to notice that, while underlining the possibility of limiting admissions because of a lack of places, a certain number of countries discount, in principle, any limitation based on considerations concerning the labour market. The Netherlands' reply, quoted in the preceding paragraph, states that in 1975, the government tried to introduce, if necessary, a **numerus clausus** to take account of the labour market, but it was overturned by Parliament. In Switzerland's reply, we read: "In Swiss higher education institutions, the **numerus clausus** is not applied... In case of need, the **numerus clausus** would only be introduced in relation to availability of places of study and capacity of universities, not in relation to the labour market or the demands of the economy". Spain, where limited admission is only permitted, for non-academic reasons, in the case of medical faculties, blames the lack of resources in its legal dispositions as the only, and therefore transitory, reason for such a measure : "In the Faculties of Medicine where, according to the respective universities, the means and facilities are expected to be inadequate, and where it is seen to be impossible to improve these immediately in

order to meet the demand of all the candidates, the Council of Rectors can decide on the eventual establishment of maximum limits in the Faculties..." (text of the ruling quoted in Spain's reply); what emerges strongly, however, from the same reply is that reasons of employment also contribute, in medicine, to the establishment of **numerus clausus.** The accent on lack of resources as the sole reason for directed or limited intervention in the choice of studies is obviously equivalent to a declaration of agreement by the authorities to the principle — even though becoming slightly abstract — of complete freedom of access (except in the case of purely academic limitations), and of the exclusively intellectual, in any case non-economic, mission of higher education and particularly of the universities. It is nonetheless true that, by a sort of vicious circle, there is often a connection between the chronic lack of resources in certain particular disciplines, and fluctuations in the demand for specialists, need or saturation of the "labour market"; since in most of the European countries the resources for higher education originate from governmental allocations, it is difficult to understand why these allocations cannot meet the development in the general economic situation, which naturally comprises fluctuations in the labour market.

(86) In the socialist countries, there is generally an obvious and acknowledged relation between the allocation of public resources for higher education and the job requirements ; these resources are allocated proportionally to the work which devolves to such and such a sector of higher education for the training of the specialists required by the planned economy. Undoubtedly, the problems which the forecasting of requirements can run up against, the changes which necessitate a redefinition of priorities, etc., can call for more or less easy readjustments ; the fact remains that the relationship which exists, in principle, between resources and requirements explains the reason why socialist countries pay little attention to "lack of places" to justify limiting admission in one sector or another. One frequently forgets, however, that there is one sector of higher education in which, generally, the capacity of the institutions plays, partially at least, a direct and considerable role in admissions : this is the sector of correspondence and evening classes. As we shall see later, in some socialist countries, the planning of admissions is much less strict in distance higher education, where the institutions often have much more room to manoeuvre in adapting the number of admissions to their resources of teaching personnel, premises, etc.

D. *The Labour Market — the Requirements of Society*

(87) It has been shown that, contrary to the socialist countries where the admission policy is dictated, as far as details are concerned, by the forecast of the specialist requirements of the national economy, some western countries, in principle, do not mention "labour market" in their policy. This refusal is not universal, however, and more than one western

country — Denmark notably, or Sweden — openly admits that access must be governed by employment problems. Certainly in the western countries, employment comes into it as a negative factor : it is a matter of keeping away the candidates in certain fields of activity which appear overloaded, whereas for most of the socialist countries, it is also a matter of positive conditioning, an attitude which is embodied in an essentially optimistic view of the success of forecasting in this area, an optimism which most of the western countries do not share.

Part Four

ADMISSION PROCEDURES

(88) It has been explained above that, in most of the European countries, admission policies have certain characteristics in common : in general these are policies of growth and — which may seem paradoxical at first sight — policies which, by their very essence, aim to regularize, to channel the recruitment base towards the institutions, which obviously implies a selection procedure. The similarity, however, stops there ; in their definite objectives, in their methods of intervention, these policies can be very different. The differences are, at first sight, baffling; we shall see that countries with very different social structures apply very similar admission methods or procedures ; in contrast, it does happen that countries which appear to have identical socio-political structures differ perceptibly between themselves in the procedures they apply, and even in the principles which lie behind and justify these procedures. There is, in spite of everything, a certain peculiarity which quite clearly demonstrates the difference between the socialist and the western countries : in the former, the methods by which the admission policy, the admission procedures are put into practice are generally standard in their principles right across the country, and with this set of procedures, in all its details, it is aimed quite openly to put into practice a centralized admission policy. In most of the other countries, by contrast, one finds several types of procedure, several methods being used at the same time, varying from one institution to another or from one group of institutions to another. The sectors in which the direct selective intervention by the state or the institutions is obvious are counterbalanced by the sectors where the free play of individual aspirations, more or less controlled by the normal filtering system of the educational institutions, apparently alone determines the composition and size of the group of admissions.

(89) Thus it would be possible to distinguish between countries with multiple methods of admission and countries with a single method of admission ; this distinction would cover, on the whole, that between

countries with partially restricted or unrestricted access on the one hand and countries with restricted access on the other. This distinction, which is extremely instructive in so far as it refers to a political and socio-economic distinction existing in Europe, would be less relevant, however, from the point of view of the technical study of admission producedures because, as we have just shown, identical or similar procedures can often be found in countries with quite different socio-economic structures. It would therefore be more instructive, from the point of view of this study. to take the admisison methods and procedures in themselves, instead of putting them back in their national context, to gain a better understanding of the function of such or such a method in different overall structures.

(90) Although any classification must, here as elsewhere, be arbitrary, we will distinguish between two types of admission : between, on the one hand, automatic admission on the basis of completed secondary education and, on the other hand, admission based on qualifications or criteria additional to the (eventual) completion of secondary studies. The second group must obviously be subdivided according to the various factors which enter into it ; an effort will be made to explain that which needs explaining.

1. Admission on the Basis of a Certificate of Secondary Education

(91) It is questionable whether automatic admission on the basis of secondary studies duly completed is really an admission procedure in the true sense of the word, that is to say the expression of an admission policy. The question is less academic, less terminological than it would appear, and admission of this sort is worthy of close attention.

(92) It sould be said first of all that this method of admission, very widespread in pre-war Europe, and also the only method used in most of the countries, has lost a lot of ground. In many of the countries it no longer exists or only traces of it remain (socialist countries, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Turkey in particular); in most of the countries it is no more than one of the alternatives in certain sectors of higher education, sectors which are often becoming smaller year by year. There are very few countries, if one is considering the middle or the end of the decade 1970—1980, where this method is still the only one in force, or practically the only one applied. Austria, where freedom to pursue studies at all levels is written into the Constitution, presents a typical example of this last category ; except in certain circumstances for foreigners, all the holders of a diploma of secondary studies have access without restriction to every form of higher education. The quantitative results of this complete freedom of admission are indistinguishable from those obtained in the other countries of the Region : the proportion of students in the 20—24 age group was 21.2% in Austria in 1977/78, which proved to be below the average for the Region (29.5%), and almost identical, or even below, overall, the rates observed in those countries where admission is extremely selec-

tive (eg. Finland 19.5%, Greece 18.2%, U.S.S.R. 21.3%, United Kingdom 19%) [1]. The reason for this apparent contradiction is simple : since the recruitment base is comparatively narrow, freedom of admission means an almost automatic rate of transfer from the higher level of secondary education to tertiary education itself ; in 1974 for example, 18% of the population aged 19 years acquired the necessary qualification (secondary school certificate) to be admitted to higher education and about 85% of this group (that is about 15% of the age cohort) made use of this qualification [2]. It is also known that in 1976, a law was passed setting up special 10 month courses to prepare people who did not have secondary education diplomas and were more than 24 years of age, for access to institutions of higher education; replying to the CEPES Questionnaire, Austria states, however, that this applies to "a minority compared with the number of students who have acquired secondary qualifications". In the other countries (like for example Belgium or Italy), where the young school leavers from a more or less "high class" secondary establishment enter higher education almost without other elimination, we are witnesses to the same phenomenon: a very high rate of transfer from secondary to teritary education, but the rate of entry to higher education of the corresponding generation still does not exceed the average for the Region, and a relatively narrow recruitment base, much narrower than in certain countries which, with an identical rate of enrolment at tertiary level, practise selection for admission. Thus it seems that in the countries like Austria, selection which adjusts the number of future students and future graduates to the capacity of the higher education system and to the volume of graduates needed by the labour market, is effected either on entry to the secondary level or during it. The quasi-automatic passage of the qualified secondary leavers to higher education only reinforces and proves a previous selection. It is now an accepted, almost commonplace, fact that selection which is applied in this way in childhood or in adolescence, even if it is applied according to school examination results, which is not always the case, really amounts to socio-economic separation.

(93) As we have shown, automatic admission works side by side, in a large number of European countries, with a system of selective admission for certain courses or in certain institutions. The coexistence of the two systems produces very varied patterns. In France this "binary" system, set up intentionally and established for almost two centuries, represents a long tradition ; although university education is, in principle, (and almost always in reality) open to all those who achieve the **baccalauréat,** or holders of equivalent certificates, the **grandes écoles,** particularly engineering colleges, certain colleges of agriculture and other colleges giving training in the arts, recruit their students by competition and, in the case of the most famous of them, the percentage of candidates eliminated is

[1] See comparative table 11 in *Development of Education in Europe : Statistical Analysis* op. cit., p. 41.
[2] See H. Schwanda, *Austria*, in *Admission to Higher Education in Sixteen Countries*, op. cit., p. 55.

considerable. The two sectors are also, on a purely quantitative basis, very unevenly balanced ; according to statistics reflecting the situation since 1967—1968 (cf. France's reply, table III, 2) the proportion of students enrolled in a college alone (a double enrolment — colege and university — being sometimes possible) gravitates, in general, around 10% of the overall student population. In other words, in France automatic access to universities and selective access to the **grandes écoles** do not clash with each other in so far as recent and contradictory results in the evolution of the admission policy is concerned. In the case of **grandes écoles,** selection is not practised to cope with a lack of resources, but to give access, according to traditionally "meritocratic" criteria, to a training at a higher level, bringing with it the often very real advantages (assured employment on successful completion, professional prestige because of the very exclusive nature of the institution, salary during study, etc.) implied by admission to such an establishment. From another point of view, if admission to university is automatic, and apparently non-selective, it is not so that it can act as a "safety valve" for an otherwise strongly selective policy ; on the contrary, "free" admission is the basic rule, and it is in keeping with a traditional (and slightly unreal) image of the university as a place for the transmission of impartial knowledge. It has also been shown above (cf. para. 52) that in France, the rate of transfer from secondary to tertiary education was very high, given that almost all those gaining the **baccalauréat** eventually entered higher education ; against that, the percentage of those gaining the **baccalauréat** in an age group does not usually exceed 25% : "A quarter of each generation of French pupils gain the **baccalauréat,** and this proportion has little chance of increasing in the short or medium term" [1]. It also proves that, in France as in Austria, the very high rate of transfer from secondary to higher level only strengthens a previous selection made at the beginning or during secondary studies. In France, during the seven years of the secondary cycle, the drop-out rate most frequently reaches or exceeds two thirds of the pupils; the entering/leaving return was 2.88 for the 1966—73 promotion, 2.95 for the 1967—74 promotion, 3.19 for the 1968—75 promotion (figures quoted by Jarousse, **op. cit.,** p. 81).

(94) France, however, represents a relatively isolated case. In countries which recognize an automatic admission system and a selective system, the latter is usually the result of a recent evolution and grafts itself on to the traditional system of free admission. In these countries, automatic admission for holders of secondary certificates is generally officially thought to be the "normal" system of admission, and selection is an **ad hoc** measure, made necessary by the lack of adequate resources in one sector or another, or by problems in the labour market. The Netherlands' reply to the Questionnaire sets out with precision the considerations which, in most cases, cause governments to set up and extend "contingency" sectors:

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[1] *J.-P. Jarousse, Indications of the Quality of Education in France,* Unesco, Division of Educational Policy and Planning, Paris, 1980. p, 7.

"It is Government policy to meet the demand for higher education if at all possible ; however, not everyone will be able to study what he wants, where he wants, for as long as he wants. Because of the limited funds available there will have to be restrictions on admission to courses which provide expensive specialised training for a specific occupation with little chance of exchanging that occupation for another". In Yugoslavia, the historic emergence of limited access can be observed, almost step by step [1]; in 1953—54, all those with secondary school certificates and ex-pupils of certain "vocational schools" had the right to enter an institution of higher education, and the right to limit entrance could only be granted to an institution by the government ; between 1955 and 1958, the conditions on the basis of which such and such an institution could limit the number of admissions were laid down (generally, this limitation originated in the restricted capacity of the institution) and the government chose those faculties or institutions which were permitted to select entrants each years. Since the faculties in question (generally the faculties of medicine and certain engineering colleges) opted for selection criteria allowing them to choose the most gifted candidates, this caused a chain reaction ; many institutions introduced "qualifying examinations" on entry, so as not to have to accept the rejected applicants from faculties employing selection. Eventually, in 1967—68, there were only 17 faculties and institutions out of 107 applying a non-restrictive admission policy ; 43 faculties demanded that a "qualifying examination" be taken, not to limit the number of possible admissions, but to isolate the rejects from faculties with restricted admission.

(95) It is undoubtedly to avoid such an evolution that the Federal Republic of Germany, while introducing selective admisson, the **numerus clausus,** in many faculties and institutions, was anxious to preserve, even in its widest application, the principle of free admission, thus presenting the selection procedures as measures imposed by circumstances and capable of being revoked or at any rate questioned at any time. We can read in this country's reply to the Questionnaire : "The outline law for higher education **(Hochschulrahmengesetz)** established new regulations for admission to higher education but avoids stating new principles of qualification for higher education. It underlines instead... that every German is entitled to follow the study course of his choice if he or she meets the pertinent requirements which... are defined as the successful completion of secondary education in schools oriented towards higher education". The consequence of this principle is that the **numerus clausus,** even when it is applied as a result of parliamentary ruling, is still a measure the legality of which can be held in doubt : "The Federal Constitutional Court has, in its decisions, laid down very severe principles intended to govern any application of **numerus clausus** rules, the most

[1] This description is based on the study of S. Sarić, M. Obradović *Access to Higher Education in Yugoslavia*, pp. 2—4, in the series Admission Policies in Post-Secondary Education, OECD, Paris, 1977.

important being that admission of rightfully entitled applicants can only be denied in the case of the completely exhaustive use of existing teaching capacities. Every applicant has the right to appeal to the courts claiming that a specific university does not make 'exhaustive use' of its teaching capacities. Many such claims have been successful and have led to the admission of additional candidates".

(96) In most cases, however, the establishment of a "binary" system does not lead to such legal problems. One can quote the example of countries which, in their legislation as in their educational practice, have formalized without much trouble, a mechanism which, while still adhering to the principle of free admission, implies the current and freely admitted use of a policy of selection, particularly when it applies to training which entails the regular use of laboratories and other expensive equipment. The Law for the University of Oslo states, for example (see Norway's reply to the Questionnaire): "Anyone who has passed the **Examen Artium** or the economic gymnasium has a right to be matriculated at the University... When shortage of space or other special reasons make it necessary the access to specific studies may, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, be restricted by specified regulations given by the King with the consent of Parliament". As for Sweden, to quote another example, the existence of "open" courses side by side with courses with limited access are now part of the normal working of the higher education system.

(97) Finally, one could sum up by saying that the automatic admission to higher education of qualified secondary school leavers is a remnant of a period in the history of European universities that is more or less outdated. Such a statement is not entirely untrue : the countries in which this method of admission is the only, or practically the only, method of admission generally have a traditional sort of secondary education system, containing certain "high class" streams who have the privilege of preparing for higher education but whose numbers are fairly small. Embodying a socio-economic type of selection, made during childhood and adolescence by school results or choice of courses, such a system of admission to higher education constitutes a socially conservative method, not in its essence, but because of its inevitable interdependence with a conservative school system.

(98) The method of automatic admission has only retained its exclusive character in a very few countries, the balance between the number of qualified secondary leavers and the enrolment capacity of the higher level, which such a method presupposes, being by definition fragile in societies where the democratization of education, after the post-war socio-economic evolution, has produced a rapid increase in the demography of education which even affects the "high class" groups of the traditional secondary schools. This is how one country after another, in the wake of a lack of resources occurring at one stage or another in the higher education system, have introduced selective admission procedures, initially as urgent or temporary measures, but later, at least in some countries,

as an integral part of a national admission policy embracing "free" admission at the same time as selective admission. In the countries where this new balance has occurred, the automatic admission method itself seems to have changed in its objective : from being a constitutional principle and a sort of ideal which is abandoned with regret, and almost remorse, a vestige of university tradition which has been irretrievably lost, it has now become, in certain fields or certain institutions, a necessary counterpart to selective admission ; whereas the selective method is applied in the case of institutions which use expensive equipment and facilities and/or courses which lead to a very specialized career adapting with difficulty to changes in employment, "free" admission of qualified secondary leavers should apply, in principle, to relatively inexpensive training offered by institutions preparing for more general vocational skills. It is evidently a great temptation not to allow such a balance to become established, but to use the double standard available at present and thus to adapt the admission process, from year to year, to the situation **ad hoc.**

2. Selection for Admission

(99) As has emerged from all that has been discussed, selection for admission occurs in cases where, because of a lack of resources or a shortage of employment, and sometimes the combination of the two, the number of places available in higher education in general, or in such and such an institution or field of study, are exceeded by the number of candidates for admission. It has been shown that the preservation of the high standards of universities is sometimes given as one of the reasons justifying selection ; in fact, with the exception of some traditionally very selective institutions which are otherwise usually at the post-university level, this justification only serves to camouflage the existence of a numerical disparity between candidates and places. In the following, the selection procedures, and the main problems raised by them will be examined in terms of types of procedure, recognizing the possible combinations and also the fact that the sociological impact and the function itself of a specific procedure are very different according to its position in the system as a whole (whether it is applied only in one sector of higher education, or whether in all the institutions).

A. *Entrance by Examination or Competition*

(100) Entrance examinations and competitions are used in most instances to screen the flow of candidates who have more or less recently emerged from secondary education and have acquired a relevant final certificate or diploma **(baccalauréat, maturity, Abitur** etc.). It is only in relatively isolated cases and for more or less exceptional candidates that it is possible, in some countries, to enter a competition without possessing a final secondary certificate (cf. below, para. 127—129). Establishing entrance examinations or competitions is consequently full of implications ; it indicates, above all, that if secondary education is a necessary preliminary

to higher education, the grading and evaluation of the pupils by the secondary education process is not a sufficient criterion in making the decision whether to accept them or not. In many cases, there is a real lack of confidence on the part of higher education with regard to secondary education, and above all with the latter's increasing output of qualified school-leavers in the recent decades. Even more frequently, it is a question of recognizing the fact that, in an age group containing two or three times more pupils than places available, selective admissions to higher education can only be effected by entrance examinations or competitions. The procedure has another important implication : higher education, even when it is on a large scale, means a course of apprenticeship and training for the best qualified and most gifted, and the clientele must be chosen with this fact in mind. Finally, a third implication : going in for an entrance competition or examination entails a decision by the candidate, a much more difficult choice as to possible positive or negative consequences, than the mere demand of matriculation ; after having secured a secondary certificate the candidate has to start on another period of often very intensive study, and has to face another period of tension, all at the risk of being refused at the end of it and having to readjust overnight his personal projects and life. This demonstrates, in other words, that opting for higher education is, in the case of an entrance competition, the result of a conscious, adult choice, and not — or at least much less — of simple participation, since childhood, in a preordained school stream.

(101) Here is a list giving the European countries which use an examination or a competition for admission on a national scale. This list is neither accurate nor exhaustive for the simple reason that some countries are difficult to classify ; in Finland, for example, entrance examinations are most often part of the selection procedure, but the institutions do not always have recourse to them and rely only on the final certificate of secondary studies ; the United Kingdom cannot be included in this classification because interview techniques are quite common, nevertheless, they are not universally used [1] ; also, an interview is not really an entrance examination, or at any rate not necessarily. This being said, we will quote Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Turkey and U.S.S.R. In addition there are many countries in which entrance competitions are held for certain particular institutions ; we will recall the example of France in the **grandes écoles** and of Yugoslavia where the practice of entrance examinations has extended to a variable, but majority, group of institutions ; in certain countries also, for example the United States and Israel, the individual institutions may employ methods (in association with other institutions should the occasion arise) which are almost equivalent to entrance examinations.

(102) The ten countries mentioned (to which Yugoslavia, because of the increased practice of entrance examinations, may be added) have little in

[1] Cf. D. Vincent, in *Admission to Higher Education in Sixteen Countries*, op. cit., p. 70.

common at first sight, except perhaps the fact that they all have a rapidly growing, or already very developed system of secondary education, and they all have very clear reasons for controlling the quantitative development of their higher education, in spite of and even because of the fact that their admission policy is fundamentally a policy of growth. Universities in some of these countries have to accommodate admission to forecasts for the planned development of their country ; in other countries, like Greece, Portugal (where competition was introduced as late as 1977) or Yugoslavia, a balance has to be maintained between the number of admissions and the places available in the institutions. Spain evinces a special situation ; officially, "aptitude examinations" are only held to maintain the standards of the institutions ; except for the Faculties of Medicine, no admission quota is fixed in advance and considerations concerning the labour market are voluntarily discounted (see Spain's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire).

(103) The precise procedures and methods used in the organization of the competitions, as far as detail is concerned, are beyond the boundaries of this study. Some more or less general characteristics will nevertheless be mentioned to make for a better understanding of problems arising from this type of admission.

(104) The entrance examinations and competitions which take place in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania und U.S.S.R. have several characteristics in common ; admission figures are fixed in advance, by institution and by field of study, excepting certain cases of distance courses (correspondence courses and evening class courses); candidates have to take examinations on subjects pertinent to their chosen specialisation, and which are selected on the basis of the secondary education curricula and syllabi ; these examinations are set, in accordance with current legislation, by the institution to which the candidates wish to gain entry ; the examiners have to take into account in their evaluation, the personality of the candidate and his previous study achievements, particularly at secondary level ; with some exceptions especially stipulated (exceptional school results, various merits or distinctions) the candidates are admitted, within the limit of the fixed quotas, according to the results obtained in the entrance examination. In this general outline, the countries mentioned display notable differences due to their traditions, their size, national "style" etc. [1]. Some of these differences will be discussed below.

(105) Greece operates a very centralized admission system at the moment ; the number of places is fixed in advance and the examinations (written) are set by the Ministry of Education and take place in University Centres. The examination, in subjects regulated by a central standard, is divided into groups of disciplines ; it is strictly anonymous and aims to ensure the maximum objectivity. The candidates are admitted without exception in

[1] See E. Sipos-Zs. Sándor's excellent study, *A Comparative Analysis of Systems of Admission to Higher Education in Several European Countries*, Unesco, 1980.

the order of number of points scored. At equal number of points with those at the bottom of the list, every candidate must be admitted even if the fixed quota is found to have been exceeded [1]. In Spain, the aptitude examination, which is not a competition but a (very slightly) eliminatory control process, is also anonymous and arranged with the aim of maximum objectivity, but it is more a test of maturity and intelligence than a real examination [2].

(106) In spite of obvious advantages from the point of view of selection, systems of entrance competitions and examinations create problems and difficulties of which the countries involved are very well aware and which they are trying to solve according to their particular situations and possibilities. The reason for these difficulties can be found in the extremely eliminatory character of this method of selection : in Bulgaria, the competition eliminates on average 75% of the candidates, in Hungary around 50%, around 50% in Poland, between 66—75% in Romania, and around 60% in U.S.S.R.[3]. In the entrance competition in Greece the rate of elimination also stands at around 75% [4]. With such a failure rate, and given the considerable number of young people concerned, the entrance competition has a considerable impact on the professional and sociological composition of a whole age group. Quite apart from legitimate considerations of equality, the problems created by the selection process give rise, inevitably, to concerns of a more general nature.

(107) The examinations are by definition examinations of an academic nature, with the purpose of estimating with a certain precision the knowledge, memory, logical aptitude, general intelligence of the candidate, as well as appraising his linguistic competence and his ability to express himself, all at a particular moment in his life. There is a big risk that the results will provide a superficial picture, and that the selection will only serve to perpetuate social and regional inequalities rather than discover real talent and originality. Conscious of this danger, the socialist countries are striving by various measures to reduce it.

(108) Some of these measures are aiming to remove from the results the features of inequality which might be ascribed to the regional origins of the candidates. Thus in Hungary, for example, the results that have been scored in "key" subjects from the point of view of chosen specialization in the last two years of secondary school, give the candidate the same number of points (a maximum of 10) as the entrance examination itself ;

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[1] For Greece, in addition to the reply to the CEPES Questionnaire, see C. P. Spyropoulos *Admission Policies in Post-Secondary Education in Greece*, OECD, 1978.

[2] For Spain, see the reply to the Questionnaire and the study of the Instituto Nacional de Ciencias de la Educacion, *The Methods of Access to Higher Education in Spain*, OECD, 1977.

[3] Cf. E. Spipos-Zs. Sándor, *A Comparative Analysis of Systems of Admission to Higher Education in Several European Countries, op. cit., passim.*

[4] Cf. G. P. Spyropoulos, *Admission Policies in Post-Secondary Education in Greece, op. cit.*, table 6, p. 22.

thus candidates coming from relatively less exacting gymnasia have an equal chance, in principle, to those from large elite gymnasia in university towns. This measure, while unpopular with the universities, has contributed to some advancement for the young people from the comparatively less advanced areas. There are also some accompanying disadvantages : the fact is that pupils tend to work only at their future "key" subjects and to be content with the absolute minimum in the others ; therefore the possibility is being considered to include Hungarian language and literature, mathematics and history among the key subjects, whatever specialization has been chosen. Bulgaria has gone even further in this direction : candidates from areas regarded as less developed are promoted in the grading : priority is also given to future doctors, agronomists, etc., who agree to work in their district of origin : the equalization of chances of access thus combines with the concern to promote certain regions [1].

(109) Most of the systems provide for measures aimed at improving social mobility. The old system of quotas for young people of working class and peasant origin still exists in some countries ; elsewhere, indirect methods of promoting their interest in higher education are preferred, like for example, accelerated courses organized for young workers going to university, or extra help given to the children of manual workers. In Hungary and Poland, the special quotas have been discarded in keeping with the changes in the sociological structure during recent decades, but, at equal number of points, the children coming from working class families are given preference if they are at the bottom of the list of passes in entrance examinations.

(110) One of the main problems attached to the system of entrance competition is the lack of liaison between the number of candidates for the different courses and the distribution of available places. In certain "fashionable", or socially prestigious courses, the number of candidates will be 5 or 10 times higher than the number of places whereas for other courses the institutions have difficulty in filling the places at their disposal. It has been noticed for several years that the interest in technical and scientific courses has fallen off in some socialist countries, and there has been a considerable surplus of candidates for medicine, psychology, certain philology courses, law, etc. Similar disparities can be found in Greece : in 1977, only 10% of the candidates were able to gain admittance for medicine, 15% for engineering sciences, but around 25% for humanities and 24% for sciences. Clearly, the system of competition reveals this sort of disparity rather than causing it ; however, such a system risks entrenching these differences and reinforcing them with a certain inherent administrative severity. It can happen in fact — and it undoubtedly does happen more and more frequently — that very gifted people cannot proceed to higher education because they have chosen a course for which the competition is very great, whereas elsewhere the Faculties are opening their doors to candidates whose performance barely exceeds the minimum

[1] Cf. Bulgaria's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire.

requirement. Guidance at school is undoubtedly a remedy ; there is the danger, however, that, given the size of the problem, it may not be effective enough.

(111) It is evident that an entrance examination, even if it provides for a thorough interview in front of a competent and experienced jury, is not adequate to provide the examiners with a clear picture of the candidate's personality, motivation, sincerity and ambitions. In a purely academic examination certain aptitudes, whose presence or absence would be essential in a specific chosen career, escape the notice of the responsible observers. There is here and now a considerable bibliography devoted to the problem of whether psychological tests included in the entrance examinations are adequate to make up for these shortcomings. Many experiments and systematic researches have been carried out in numerous countries, above all in the socialist countries, who are particularly interested in this question, because of their system of entrance competitions. This work seems to have enriched the methodology of the examiners ; certain tests are used, particularly in Hungary, to help the jury's decision in doubtful cases. Nevertheless, so far, authorities have refused to give the psychological tests a legal, and especially eliminatory value in the overall procedure.

(112) As has been already stressed, the champions of the entrance competition as a method of selection underline the fact, undoubtedly with good reason, that the problems described are not so much caused by the competitions as revealed by them. Nevertheless improvement on the competition systems, implying among other things increased flexibility of method, is the order of the day in many interested countries. Such improvement would surely bring about a more flexible approach to admission quotas, a chance for institutions to give certain candidates with contradictory results "the benefit of the doubt", the chance to make allowances for a certain hesitation which is natural at this age, as well as a freer hand to experiment in the case of related disciplines.

B. *Selection based on Results obtained at Secondary School*

(113) It has been shown above (cf. para. 104) that the results obtained at secondary school have a bearing, even where admission is by entrance examination. In one way or another, the results obtained during the last years of secondary school or at the time of the final examinations of secondary school are taken into account in the socialist countries. Let us add that in Greece the results of the entrance competition are based not only on essays written at the time of the competition but also on results in the final examination of secondary school. Nevertheless, in all these cases it is the entrance competition or examination which is the real yardstick for admission, and the secondary school reports play only a minor role : they make it possible to estimate the candidate's personality, the continuity of his effort ; they also serve to cancel out, to a certain

extent, discrepancies in chances of success caused by inequality of previous schooling. The situation in the countries which base selection entirely on school results, however, is very different ; recourse to secondary school results — either to final examination results or to those obtained during the final years — is the only basis for a decision for admission or non-admission, which increases the importance and responsibility of the school and the far-reaching importance of the pupil's school work.

(114) This method is applied in a considerable number of European countries, sometimes systematically over the whole organization of higher education, sometimes occasionally or in certain specified sectors of higher education. It does have, in all its variations, the advantage of being relatively simple to organize and administrate : the candidates do not move about, and there is no competition with all the tremendous work of preparation which accompanies tests involving millions of people, etc. This simplicity also allows it to retain a certain flexibility in use : one can extend or reduce its use according to changes in the situation. Using relatively simple documents, a centralized collection of information can be established and used or, otherwise, the institutions can be left to evaluate the documents coming from the schools. It is because of its flexibility that this is the chosen procedure in countries which employ an empirical and transitory type of selection — at least transitory in principle — to limit the influx of new students to courses of training for which resources are inadequate or employment possibilities restricted. However, the method also involves problems, which all the interested countries need to bear in mind.

(115) One of these problems arises from the limitation of criteria to school results, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to take into consideration candidates from different streams. This is the reason why, in most of the interested countries, exceptions are made in favour of candidates who have not followed the usual secondary course. Another problem which is very serious in some countries, concerns the unavoidable difference in standard between one school and another, which often makes a comparison of school results illusory, and consequently runs the risk of doing considerable injustice. However, there is one disadvantage which is perhaps the biggest of all : the method is "apsychological" ; it pays no attention to the lively aptitudes and often very rapid development of young personalities. The many considerations which arouse incessant debate usually lead to the use of more or less mixed systems which, while being based on school marks, are in fact very different from one country to another. We will now study some typical examples.

(116) It is in fact quite common for the selection system based on the scrutiny of school marks or final secondary school examinations to contain other procedures to keep pace with difficulties arising or objections raised. The long and complex evolution of the selection system in the case of studies with **numerus clausus** in the Federal Republic of Germany is

a good case in point [1]. Due to the rapid increase of students first in medicine around 1965, and soon in some other related disciplines, the number of candidates proved to be well in excess of the number of places available. In order to unify the access procedures, the medical faculties were unanimous in proposing in 1966 that selection should be based on the results obtained in the "key" subjects in the final secondary school examination **(Abitur).** Since, however, the Abitur diploma itself confers the right to enrolment in a university, this rule raised legal, as well as practical difficulties because the selection helped to increase year by year the throng of unadmitted candidates at the gates of the Faculties. The "waiting time" was therefore soon included as a subsidiary criterion, a specific percentage of places being given on the basis of the seniority of the candidates. Little by little, the admission criteria became enriched by different elements, which, in spite of efforts to arrive at a centralized administration and documentation, inevitably caused differences between the **Länder.** The Constitutional Court of Karlsruhe, seizing the question, issued a decision in 1972, renewed and amplified in 1977. The Court, confirming the right of all citizens to pursue higher studies according to their choice, considered that admission to a given institution could be limited only in case the intake possibilities of the institution had been exhausted. It also demanded that : "selection and distribution of applicants be effected according to sound criteria, and that an opportunity should be given to every qualified applicant with the utmost possible regard to individual choice of place of education". However, the **Abitur** is not necessarily an adequate criterion: although the examination is controlled by the Ministeries, and it is held in the schools, it has been proved that the levels of marks differ, notably from one **Land** to another. A clause mentioning "equalization of marks" does exist in the treaty of the **Länder** concerning university admissions, but doubts remain as to their comparability, and therefore as to the inherent fairness of the admission system. During these last years, a double evolution has been observed, particularly after the second decision of the Constitutional Court in 1977 : on one side, there is a very obvious political willingness to reduce the application of **numerus clausus** and to apply it only in certain faculties (especially medicine and dentistry) where this practice seems indispensable ; on the other side, there is a trend towards completing or even replacing the **Abitur** marks by aptitude tests whose content and methodology are at the experimental stage. So one can see a tendency to bypass the method based only on secondary school examination results, and to adopt the principle of tests which are often not very different from an entrance examination.

(117) Criteria based on secondary results are often considered insufficient elsewhere too. In Norway, the absence of legal and political obstacles, which in the Federal Republic of Germany are due to the complex struc-

[1] Based on the reply of the Federal Republic of Germany to the CEPES Questionnaire and on the study of H. Müller-Sorger, *Admission to Higher Education in Germany*, Paris. OECD, 1976.

ture of the state, allows for a more pragmatic approach to the question. The fundamental selection criterion — where indeed selection is considered necessary — is still that of secondary school marks ; we can read in the reply to the Questionnaire : "Admission to tertiary education in Norway is, as a general rule, based on full three year upper secondary education. As competition is keen for intake to quite a number of study streams in the regionalized system,as well as in the university sector, the marks obtained can often be decisive for access or not. With a few exceptions there is no entrance examination..." It continues : "**numerus clausus** is a question whether the demand for study places exceeds the supply, and not generally a principal matter, even if it has caused some debate and criticism. The general pragmatism is proved by the fact that some study streams have open access, some not, in any one institution, regardless of type". There is however a very clear trend, particularly aimed at eliminating as far as possible social and regional inequalities, towards modifying and complementing the criterion of the secondary school diploma by supplementary criteria. In this context it is interesting to recall the procedure which was proposed by the National Committee for Admissions to Medicine when discussing access to these faculties. This procedure, as is to be believed by Norway's reply, will surely serve as a model for the admission procedure in general : "The proposals... contain the following seven ingredients : 1. Higher secondary school credits should be taken into account according to special rules. 2. Special study ability is to be claimed in mathematics, physics, and chemistry. 3. A minimum of nine months of unspecified work experience is to be required. 4. The country is to be divided into six intake areas. Applicants will be accepted according to the size of the population of each region. 5. Neither sex should have less than 40% of the study places available — provided that the minimum competence requirements are met... 6. A number of study places is to be reserved for a special intake category based on social, health or other relevant criteria. This number should not exceed 5% of the total available places. 7. A minimum level of access (calculated as a total of upper secondary school points or marks) is to be stipulated". In Sweden, the trend is similar: although it remains essential to take school results into account, should the case arise these must give way to other criteria so as to balance the composition of the recruitment base. Sweden's reply to the Questionnaire reads as follows: "A guiding principle for the new admission scheme is that real competence is more important than formally documented qualifications". However, in order to avoid a "negative" imbalance, which would finally count against those who had obtained brilliant school results and whose intellectual capacity on paper had been proved as genuine, it is stipulated that at least 20% of the places shall be reserved in each course for candidates accepted exclusively on school marks.

(118) The recourse to secondary school results seems to be a technically stable procedure in countries where these are the results of an examination set independently of the schools themselves. The United Kingdom has been mentioned above among the countries employing the system of

entrance examinations because of the use in that country of the interviewing technique (para. 101). In fact, it would be more correct to count the United Kingdom among those where admission is based on secondary school results, since selection, particularly to universities, is based on the results of the "A" level (Advanced level examinations) which are taken at the end of secondary studies at the age of 18 years. The reason why these examinations can be considered to be an adequate basis for selection is exactly that they are independent, in their organization and in their subjects, of the schools themselves, so that they more or less correspond to aptitude tests, allowing, but not ensuring, entry to a university. The connection that exists between such examinations and university admission is clearly shown in Israel's reply. In fact in this country the prerequisite (but not the guarantee) of admission to the universities is supplied by an examination at the end of secondary education, called the **Bagrut** examination, organized by the Ministry of Education and Culture, and thus independent of the schools. For various reasons, mainly of a pedagogical nature, there is sometimes talk of supressing it, but "the main arguments against the abolition of the **Bagrut** examinations are that school marks alone cannot be relied upon because of the different standards of different schools and that in the absence of the **Bagrut** examinations, the universities would in all probability either individually or collectively conduct full-scale entrance exams" (reply by Israel to the CEPES Questionnaire).

(119) The only socialist country in Europe which hardly recongnizes the system of admission by entrance examination or competition is the German Democratic Republic. At first sight, this country should be included in the group of those who select students for higher education on the basis of their secondary school results. In reality and in spite of this impression, this country stands completely apart because the selection of students is based not so much on secondary studies as on the whole course of these studies, by a process of continuous and carefully graded selection. In the final years of the **Oberschule** (10 years in all), the pupil can enter a preparatory class which, following a special course, leads him to the final stage of secondary school, the **Erweiterte Oberschule** lasting for two years. As soon as he reaches this level, the pupil makes a first application for admission to a certain course in higher education ; he then receives information from the National Centre for applications for access to higher education **(Zentralstelle für Studienbewerbung,** Magdeburg), and is advised by his teachers according to the data provided by this Centre. Finally, after the twelfth year of study, he makes a definite application for admission. His suitability is judged by the admission committee of the institution to which he is applying (acceptability of the application, detailed evaluation by the school, results achieved in various fields of activity). It is asserted, however, in descriptions of the system, that pupils who are strongly recommended by their **Erweiterte Oberschule** are always admitted. This is therefore a very particular system based on long-standing and close co-operation between the secondary schools and the institutions of higher

education, and also on co-operation between all these establishments and the individual.

C. *Other Selection Procedures*

(120) In examining the two principal selection procedures — selection by entrance examination or competition and selection based on secondary school results — we have briefly mentioned other criteria and procedures which, occasionally or subsidiarily, intervene in the process of admission of one country or another. These criteria — as, for example, geographical or social background, sex, or waiting-time — reveal the wish to give value to other than purely academic considerations ; the application of these criteria, in the form of quotas, allows for socialogical and political objectives to be considered, without having to relegate the academic and "meritocratic" character of the selection to the background. As a result of operating these criteria, the selection procedures are, in most cases, combined procedures, embodying a sociological type of selection grafted on to academic selection.

(121) Apart from procedures based on academic performance, whether or not additional sociological criteria are considered, a system of selection has appeared in Europe, during the last decade, which is rather surprising at first sight and which has achieved a certain popularity : that of a draw similar to a "lottery system". While it is experimentally employed elsewhere too, it is in the Netherlands that this procedure is extensively in operation. It was ratified in 1972, when the Ministry of Education was authorized to estimate the number of students qualified to be admitted to certain studies [1]. The selection introduced by law worked at the beginning by a partial draw : candidates who had obtained a mark of at least 7.5 out of 10 in the final secondary school examination, were automatically accepted by the university, whereas those with lower marks were selected by draw. In 1975, when the provisions of the law had to be renewed, the government proposed to replace this system by a draw for all candidates, whatever their final secondary school results. The proposition was not accepted, as it stood by Parliament ; a system of "calculated" draw was adopted, by which a candidate who had obtained an average of 8.5, for example, has three times more chance of being admitted than another candidate with an average of 6.5. Nevertheless, the arguments used in favour of a general draw, with no preferential treatment of any kind, arouse a certain interest. The statistical correlation between results gained at the end of the secondary level and those gained during university studies has been found to be unreliable : the correlation may positively hold for the beginning of university studies, particularly in sciences, yet the predictive value of school results weakens considerably with res-

[1] In addition to the Netherlands' reply to the CEPES Questionnaire, see in particular A. M. L. van Wieringen. *Admission to Higher Education in the Netherlands*, Paris, OECD, 1976, pp. 5—7.

pect to the final stages of higher studies. It has also been noticed that there is a close correlation between high marks at the end of secondary school and social background, particularly if one considers the composition of the "academic" group of pupils ; an "integral" lottery system would therefore allow for a much larger number of young people of modest background to have access to higher education than would selection based on marks acquired at the end of secondary school. In a final analysis, the draw was not proposed on its intrinsic merit, but to demonstrate an undoubtedly justified disillusion with the other possible methods in the context of the Netherlands. In the "calculated" system of drawing lots, combining "pure chance" with the consideration of school results, the lottery is meant to moderate the lack of equality which can accompany the meritocratic criterion of secondary school marks.

3. Admission Procedures : Attempt at an Overall View

(122) The countries of Europe have witnessed over the last ten years a very distinct movement towards the extension of selective admission procedures; it seems in fact that filtering the candidates, emerging from a constantly growing recruitment base, is an inevitable means of controlling and maintaining growth, while at the same time making it economically and sociologically acceptable. As far as selection methods are concerned, those which imply an evaluation of the academic level of the candidates retain a favoured position. This implies the persistance, in spite of the ever increasing numbers flowing into higher education, of an elitist image of higher education and the predominance, in the scale of values, of intellectual faculties as well as knowledge gained. However, the understanding of the fact that the choice of candidates exerts an impact on the sociological structure and evolution of the community, the certitude that the growing numbers of graduates from higher education will identify themselves, little by little, in highly industrial societies, with the ruling classes, serves to couple the purely academic or scholastic criteria, with socio-political criteria which naturally vary according to the dominant political structure and ideology of the different countries.

(123) In most of the states, selection procedures are the subject of constant discussion, but presently, no one seems to be satisfactory in itself. Although the method of entrance competition seems to display certain advantages of clarity, fairness, legal severity, and also easily quantifiable characteristics which make it especially adaptable in countries with planned economies, it does, however, rely on a complicated machinery, it inflicts much psychological tension on the candidates and it gives an enormous burden of extra work to the staff of the institutions of higher education. At the price of all this, it leads to decisions which are far from being infallible. As for selection based on secondary school results, it could only be free of injustice if the secondary schools, throughout the country, were of the same or comparable standard, if their methods of assessing the pupils were identical, and if the final examinations did not

reflect, in their results, social advantages and disadvantages as well as differences in talent and motivation. There is therefore a need for selection, on the one hand, and, on the other, a manifest shortage of adequate selection methods even of the most elaborate kind. It is true that, in spite of these inadequacies, when the procedures are used, they are, generally, completed, controlled and augmented with extra criteria which counterbalance what is one-sided and too rigid in the basic criteria. In short, the admission methods are, generally, used relatively painlessly.

(124) Nevertheless, current selection procedures all suffer from a major weakness : that of being essentially conceived in accordance with the traditional clientele for higher education, that is to say the young people emerging from secondary education. It is still certain today that this group of young people constitutes the main source of recruitment for higher education, and it is therefore fair that the effort of selection applies essentially to this "clientele". It is clear however that selection itself, turning away a sometimes considerable number of candidates for higher education, contributes to the existence of an ever-increasing mass of potential candidates whose number is added to that of the people who, for one reason or another, did not make an application on completing the secondary level, or have acquired a solid training without passing through the usual secondary course. Selection at the level of the traditional clientele thus assists the creation of a new clientele, very different sociologically to the young people freshly emerged from school, whose presence can possibly neutralize the inevitable faults in the system of selective admission of young people.

Part Five

THE NEW CLIENTELE

(125) The idea of "new student clientele" has been described in a Unesco document as being the student clientele which is placed "outside the traditional clientele, the latter meaning the 18—24 year olds who have passed through the secondary education system and who are not engaged in professional activity" [1]. To be precise, it should have been added that these criteria are not necessarily cumulative : an older person earning a living but having had a secondary education is part of the new clientele, just as much as a person of 18 to 24 years of age having not, or not yet, completed this education. The question, from the point of view of this study is not to define the new clientele, whose content is easy enough to grasp intuitively, but to assess to what extent the admission policies and selection procedures now in force or in preparation contribute, directly or indirectly, to the creation of such a clientele. It is also worth finding out to what extent the actual existence of this clientele, its appearance as a result of a complicated interplay of cultural, economic and social factors, affects access policies and strengthens or nullifies their results. It must be underlined at the outset that it is not higher education, or access policy, or even the education system as a whole which creates this new clientele; it emerges as a result of the sociological, cultural and economic evolution of the industrialized states of Europe, reflecting the need felt by more and more sectors of the population to achieve through study a greater command of the world which surrounds them. The educational policies, and notably the access policy, contribute at most to the crystalization of this clientele, and help it to work out its aims in a more thoughtful and precise manner. In as much as the admission policy encompasses this new clientele and opens the doors of higher education to it, it affects the conception and even the structure of higher education and brings a considerable influence to bear on the future composition of society.

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[1] *New Forms of Higher Education in Europe*, Unesco-CEPES, 1976. p. 60.

1. Access Policies in Favour of the New Clientele

(126) Let us explain first of all that the appearance of the new clientele does not particularly depend on special measures taken in the context of the admission policy itself. Indeed, if we consider that the people who study while gainfully employed are already part of the new clientele, we can appreciate that even in the most conservative structures, where no particular procedure in favour of "non-traditional" students is applied with respect to access, and where no special teaching facilities are available to help them in their studies, a considerable and undoubtedly increasing number of students exist who are in full employment while following courses of study. On this subject we have quoted the particular case of Italy (cf. above para. 37), but the phenomenon also exists in other countries, like France, Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, etc. Naturally, the actual influence and possibilities of such an evolution are limited ; since the conditions for admission are not made easier, the people who have not passed through the pre-university stream of secondary school remain excluded ; the opportunity is limited, therefore, to institutions and courses which, by the nature of the teaching, do not oblige the students to attend every lecture (particularly in humanities and in law). It is not a very new phenomenon either ; in many European countries law students have had to undergo a lucrative practice or have been gainfully employed ever since 1939 and even before.

(127) Even more important — and even more recent — are the systems which provide clauses or criteria in their admission procedures aimed at opening access to people from social groups that are different from the young people newly emerging from secondary schools. In most cases they contain special clauses providing for people who have not had a complete secondary education to apply, under certain conditions, for admission to an institution of higher education. We find a typical example in some of the Nordic countries which authorize the admission of adults beyond a certain age, and with no preliminary condition of an academic nature, as long as they have adequate practical experience. The principles behind this innovation have been explained in the Norwegian government's "White book" on higher education [1] : "age and occupational experience should constitute principal elements when minimum entrance requirements are being defined. In many disciplines an age of 25, and 5 years occupational experience should constitute qualification for entry at this level... Entrance requirements should be designed so as to avoid discriminating against applicants from certain regions, or applicants from social groups with little prior education of a formal nature... It is recommended that credit should be given to vocational experience while it is not recommended that extra credit should be given to prior education which is in excess of the basic entrance requirements". It is a question here of the "real competence" principle, as opposed to formal competence (the latter

[1] 1974—1975 ; see Norway's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire.

testified by the final secondary school examination). As for "real competence", it is defined by the same "White book" in the following terms : "The concept of real competence comprises both personal capacities like motivation and study ability (which are difficult to measure) and a general practical and/or theoretical backround or ability in communicative and instrumental subjects necessary for the successful performance of studies".

(128) This "25/5" rule, as it is sometimes called, which authorizes admission without previous formal education, after the age of 25 years, for candidates able to prove that they have had 5 years' experience in employment, has been in force, experimentally, in Sweden since 1969, but initially only in the faculties with unrestricted admission. The results of this experiment have been very interesting, in fact, not only has an important increase in the percentage of students over 25 years been recorded in these faculties (40% in the summer term of 1970, 64% in the same term in 1976), but also a considerable increase (from 53% to 69%) in the proportion of students enrolled in one subject only instead of taking a full degree course. Thus it appears that the "adult" students, much more frequently than the school leavers, enrol in an institution of higher education with the object of increasing their understanding, of acquiring more culture or knowledge, rather than with a professional career in mind. Since 1977, a new regulation has extended and expanded this form of admission. From now on only 4 years of practical experience is required ("25/4"), but the possibility of admission on this basis is also extended to the faculties with restricted admission. In these institutions, the candidates contained in this group are admitted on a percentage basis over the whole group of applicants ; they have therefore to submit in most cases to an aptitude test in the subjects of particular importance to their future studies [1].

(129) If, on the basis of the theory of "real competence", admission of people without complete secondary education occurs in certain Scandinavian countries by way of particularly elaborate procedures, a good number of other European countries have opened access to people without academic secondary school certificates. Finland, for example, opens some institutions to people who do not have the secondary school certificate and who have not even passed through a vocational secondary school : "the criteria applied to these students are the necessary knowledge and skills acquired by other means... and satisfactory performance at the entrance examinations" [2]. The chances of success of these candidates are, however, relatively slight and so are those of the people who have followed vocational secondary schools, because "the entrance examinations are mainly designed for those with senior secondary school education, and, consequently, success depends on knowledge and skills which are usually acquired during a training of this type. It would be posible to quote the

[1] See Sweden's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire.
[2] See Finland's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire.

example of France, where the University of Paris-Vincennes, for example, accepts students without the **baccalauréat,** or the Canton of Geneva, where one can enter certain institutions without a school-leaving qualification, only by passing an aptitude test. We must realize that all these cases, like others which could be mentioned, are isolated and exceptional examples which are not destined to become universally accepted. In the countries where secondary education is well developed, where it is possible to catch up by taking the **baccalauréat** or the **maturité** even without having followed the traditional secondary course, the problem is not that of exemption given to young candidates ; the real problem lies at the level of people already in employment, for whom the chance to enter into higher education is the only way to be reintegrated in the education process.

(130) Indeed, in so far as the adult students constitute a new clientele, their recruitment is not only a problem of admission. An institution as innovative as the Open University in the United Kingdom does not owe its originality — or its success — to the fact that it admits candidates without preliminary conditions, but to its methods and its institutional characteristics which make it able to dispense efficient long-distance teaching and apprenticeship through a machinery containing many techniques.

(131) Among the modifications in admission criteria, intended to expand and democratize the recruitment base, the total suppression of the requirement for secondary education as a prerequisite is basically only an extreme solution whose aim is to give easier access to an adult clientele already in employment. However, since, in most of the countries of Europe, secondary education is expanding very quickly, this innovation will only be really significant — and even then only relatively so — for a few years, a decade or two at the most; in fact, the time is not far away — and it has almost been reached in some states in the United States — when the great majority of young people will have completed secondary education. It must be remembered in this context that the expansion of secondary education is not, as we know, simply a quantitative increase in the traditional secondary streams. In many countries, the expansion of secondary education is mainly the result of the inclusion, at this level, of schools which had previously had only technical or "vocational" status, etc. In many countries, the "short-term" secondary schools, the "vocational schools" of every kind, have been granted the right, usually at the price of certain reforms in their courses, to award certificates which are valid for application for entry to higher education.

(132) The modification of admission criteria with the object of attracting a clientele other than the secondary school leavers, and of enabling people who earn a living from an early age to benefit from higher education, is not the only solution to the problem of the demand for higher education which, because of a universal socio-cultural evolution, is present in all the countries of the Region. Another solution is to prepare the new clientele to satisfy the otherwise normal admission requirements. This is how

Austria has established, by a federal law in 1976, preparation courses for adults who wish to enter the university ; these courses allow people without the baccalaureat who are more than 24 years of age to prepare themselves in ten months for an examination which opens access to them to certain university courses. Moreover, in almost every country in the continent, possibilities exist to follow secondary studies in the form of evening classes which make it possible to obtain the qualifications necessary for admission to higher education without giving up gainful employment. In most of the socialist countries, special courses are provided for young workers enabling them to catch up on their schooling and to enter the entrance competition for the institutions of higher education. In Czechoslovakia, for example, intensive courses have been offered since 1973—74 to prepare workers to pass the final secondary school examination ; in Hungary, after the abolition, in 1962, of special quotas for young people of peasant and working class background, other means had to be found to enable the children of manual workers to reach a high enough standard to enter the entrance competition ; this was the beginning of a whole system of preparation courses, aimed initially at the young workers, to enable them to pass the school-leaving examination ; later, in 1975, preparation courses were also organized for the young professional workers, having already passed the final secondary school examination and wishing to apply for admission to a university. In U.S.S.R., preparation courses for the universities, especially arranged for people who have been working in industry for at least a year without interruption, have been set in motion by the central administration ; these courses are organized in co-operation with the higher education institutions themselves.

(133) In the countries where higher education by evening classes and correspondence courses depends upon ad-hoc institutions or units, the conditions of admission do not differ, in principle, from those required for "ordinary" courses, except obviously that there is no age limit implied or that the age limit is different from that for full-time students. In most of the socialist countries the number of enrolments is fixed according to the places available in the institutions rather than the forecasts of the planned economy. In these cases, it is not the admission policy in itself which attracts this "new clientele", but more the conditions of study which meet reasonably well the needs of people already in employment.

2. Access to Higher Education and the Social Mobility

(134) The arrival of the "new clientele" is undoubtedly a sign of increased social mobility, or at least of a more heartfelt and conscious desire for social mobility. The "new clientele" consists of a group of people who, in other times, would not have had the opportunity — or indeed the wish — to proceed to higher education.

(135) As has been shown above, it is not the access, it is not the admission policy which creates the "new clientele", just as it is not the admission policy which creates the wish for social mobility. Such a policy,

however, by the way in which it operates, has to allow social mobility to be effective, just as it transforms an ill-defined "new clientele" into a new brand of student.

(136) The admission policy affects social mobility at several levels. First of all, at the level of "inter-generation" mobility [1] which contains the traditional and always majority group of full-time students, straight — or almost straight — out of secondary school. It would naturally be wrong to pretend that the admission policy is alone responsible for the composition of the student body according to family and social background. It is the composition of the recruitment base, that is the composition of the group with secondary school diplomas, which is the first determining factor. This recruitment base, in turn, is governed by more general economic and socio-political factors, as well as by the overall education policy. In this network of determining factors, the admission policy has only limited room to manoeuvre. It does have some, however, and by working out priority quotas, sometimes by more subtle means (financial concessions or special scholarships for young people from working class or generally less fortunate backgrounds ; particularly careful preparation of these young people for entrance competition, etc.) this policy can certainly influence, sometimes very significantly, the chances the young people from different social backgrounds have of being admitted. It is clear that an analysis of the trends is not always easy. In Greece, for example, between 1963 and 1973 the proportion of children of manual and agricultural workers among the student group rose from 37.3% to 46.4%, whereas the percentage of students from well-to-do or middle class families fell from 15.2% to 11.6% [2]. Since the admission policy has hardly changed during this period, the very clear democratization of the content of the student body must be due to other factors, and notably to the considerable progress in schooling, which has simply caused the composition of the recruitment base to become closer to the social composition of the population. In other cases, the admission policy has certainly had a role to play in similar changes. Thus, in Sweden, from 1962 to 1972, the proportion of workers' children among the students rose from 16% to around 23%, whereas that of students whose parents were graduates fell from 21% to 17% [3]. It seems that this change may be due to the introduction of the "25/5" rule in 1969 (see above para. 128). In the socialist countries, the relatively high and certainly stable percentage of young people of working class background among the students (about 40% to 60% according to the country), is due either to direct measures arising out of the admission policy (obligatory quotas), or to sustained indirect intervention (the training of a certain number of young working-class origin people by way of special preparation courses), or to both.

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[1] See above, p. 44, note 3.

[2] See the study of G. P. Spyropoulos, *Admission Policies in Post-Secondary Education in Greece*, op. cit., pp. 45—46.

[3] See Sweden's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire.

(137) The admission policy also affects the changes in the social structure at a second level ; its operation, when it is selective, helps to build up an important group in the new clientele : the growing group of those who, while having had the right to seek admittance to higher education, were turned down once or several times at the time of selection, and have started in employment while waiting for a second chance of admittance. In the present context this group may be quite important. The school statistics from Hungary show that, for more than a decade, slightly fewer than a quarter of the qualified school leavers are admitted into an institution of higher education in the same year as they have taken their baccalaureat. As the entrance competition eliminates about 50%, it means that every year the group which has failed is at least as important as that which has succeeded. Now, following the progress of a group of qualified school leavers over a period of twelve years, it appears that by the age of thirty, about half of them are in higher education or have already graduated ; in other words, thanks to the possibility of a "second chance" (renewed application, evening classes, correspondence courses) partly in the form of a "new clientele", a large number of those who were eliminated from the "ordinary" group, come back later. The question could be asked whether this indicates failure or success of the selective admission policy. In the long term, it seems that it indicates success : while ensuring the smooth running of the essential courses of training and the even distribution of professional qualifications conforming to foreseeable requirements, this policy encourages a demand for higher education and helps to interest larger and larger sections of the population in improving their education.

(138) The admission policy is an important factor in "intra-generation" mobility [1] in so far as it allows for "adults", that is to say people in paid employment, to "change places" in society of their own free will. Every form of part-time or distance advanced training which enables workers in one way or another to pursue courses leading to specialized or intellectual employment demonstrates this function. Most of the various "new forms" of higher education, the factory higher schools in the U.S.S.R.[2], the Open University, the category of "worker-students" in Malta [3], represent variations of one and the same idea : to allow adults, engaged in employment, to combine or alternate work and study and to profit from each without disturbing their professional life. In these institutions, it is not so much the method of admission which counts, as the existence of an appropriate structure.

(139) It appears, therefore, that methods exist in most of the countries of Europe, which enable workers without complete secondary education to

[1] Intra-generation mobility means progress made in the context of social and professional mobility within a generation, as it affects the career of a given person or group of persons.

[2] Cf. I. V. Vorobiov, *Study on Access to Higher Education*, op. cit., pp. 27—31.

[3] Cf. Law XXI of 1978 in Malta, according to which "worker-students" are preferred at the time of admission to students who are not working.

benefit from higher education without formal qualifications, or to obtain the necessary qualifications by a shorter or different route. Moreover, many countries have special institutional structures responsible for giving advanced training to people who do not desire to, or cannot, give up their jobs ; in countries where admission is otherwise selective, there are many people in this second category to whom this form of higher education "for adults", gives a second chance of access, after having been eliminated on leaving secondary school or at the time of admission after secondary school. For cases like this it could be possible to use the phrase "composite policies", under the terms of which the "ordinary" groups pass through an entrance selection after secondary school (or eventually on leaving secondary school), but which contains an adjustment element allowing for a statistically less selective "fast stream", at least in certain courses.

Part Six

SOME RELATED PROBLEMS

(140) It has been underlined several times that the problem of access can only be explained in the context of the whole educational system, of the overall educational policy. In addition, the admisison policy and the process of access contain elements which reveal the whole system of education, as well as socio-political mechanisms, which go beyond the confines of the educational system. In the wake of the central, intrinsic problems of access, which we have tried rapidly to review, there follow a great many questions, which seem marginal from the point of view of admission policy, but are nevertheless important to consider in order to acquire a better understanding of the relationship between this policy and other elements of the educational policy, and these undoubtedly deserve attention. We have chosen two of them, that of vocational information and orientation, and that of foreign students. In their study, **Access to Tertiary Education in Europe** (pp. 62—78), L. Cerych and A. Smith have classified, and very clearly explained, the elements in the replies from the states to the CEPES Questionnaire which refer to these two points. It would be superfluous to repeat this work. We will endeavour instead to identify the links between these questions and the more central problems of access.

1. Vocational Information and Orientation at the Disposal of the Access Policy

(141) Almost all the Member States of the Region make it known that they have at their disposal, many information agencies and services which distribute all the details concerning institutions of higher education to interested parties — particularly to pupils in the last year at secondary school, to teachers, but also to "adults" who wish to be informed. Methods of access, curricula, available scholarships, services for students, employment opportunities, all this and, according to country, much more information, is given out to those who want to know about it. The information is usually passed on in the form of brochures or an annual handbook,

distributed free in more than one country. In addition, many institutions have their own information services, and a good number of them distribute folders or brochures about their own activities. In a number of the countries there are central or regional information bureaux or services. All this effort is obviously an absolute necessity ; almost throughout Europe, higher education has in fact become a highly complex network, the extent and ramifications of which are known only to some specialists and administrators in each country, the more so because it is constantly changing. Such small or medium-sized countries as Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, or any other which possessed before the war, three to five universities of the classical type with four or five faculties in each, and in addition several marginal institutions which were not really considered as being higher education institutions, today possess forty, fifty or a hundred institutions of higher education, covering hundreds of courses, operating according to complicated rules, with aims and objectives which are sometimes difficult to grasp and distinguish. The pupil and his parents, the adult wishing to be informed, each one has a right to make his own decision, to follow up his choice in the full, or very nearly full, knowledge of what is involved. In the Member States of Europe, this right seems to be guaranteed.

(142) The situation is different at the level of tertiary studies. Precise and well organized information certainly provides some kind of orientation in itself, but we will return to this. There is also pointed, intentionally biased information, which tries to steer people, or even public opinion, towards certain choices, certain courses, certain institutions ; this is reflected in the practice of "open days" in the institutions, during which pupils in the final year of school can visit the buildings, the laboratories, meet the staff, etc. ; representatives of the institutions of higher education also provide brief descriptions of their institution in secondary schools, there are further television and radio programmes introducing certain courses and institutions. The problems really begin at the stage of giving personal guidance to pupils about the different courses and careers. It emerges quite clearly from most of the replies to the Questionnaire that this responsibility rests with the teachers in the secondary schools, and that guidance is given informally, in their own time, and according to their ability and experience. These circumstances impose more systematic and conscientious work on the teachers in countries where it is the secondary school itself which is officially responsible for sending in its pupils' applications for higher education ; this is usually the case in countries where admission is by competition or entrance examination. Specialized centres for careers guidance certainly do exist ; but it should be mentioned that, in most cases, these are more concerned with vocational guidance according to the children's personalities than with the choice of an intellectual career at the end of secondary studies. The real problem therefore lies in the objectives of the orientation rather than in the organization of it. The reply from Finland — a country where career guidance is provided in schools in a well organized system

involving specially trained teachers — explains this problem clearly : "So far vocational guidance has been based, above all, on each pupil's individual interests and whishes. All vocations and areas of study have been treated equally. The pupils are, however, also informed of the employment situation and the annual admissions versus applicants to various areas of study and educational institutions. Introduction of selective information has, however, been increasingly discussed recently..." Should guidance then consider only the personality of the pupil, his particular talents, the sincerity of his interest in such or such a career ? or should it consider criteria which go beyond the individual, and if so which criteria ? the state of the labour market ? the needs of the national economy ? or the chances of being admitted to such or such an institution in view of the anticipated numbers of candidates and places ? This is where the real problems lie, but Finland is the only country which has put it into words. The reply is obvious, at least in principle : guidance must be comprehensive ; it must take notice of the gifts and ambitions of the person asking advice, but it must also establish a realistic balance between these ambitions and the objective chances of their being realized. However the agencies and individuals used by the schools, or those who advise adult candidates for higher education, are, in general, ill equipped and ill informed to provide guidance of this sort. Indeed, very often the necessary information is not available at the very moment when the guidance is most needed.

(143) This is, undoubtedly, one of the reasons why, at the moment, career guidance in the schools and among adult candidates barely produces the expected results, especially when one considers the influence which it could exercise to help share out the demand for higher education among the different professions. There are certainly other reasons ; for whole generations, the choice of career depends on deep psychological and sociological factors, which individual guidance can only slightly modify. Certain examples are well known : every year, in the countries differing widely because of their socio-political structures, considerable numbers of students enrol for certain courses in humanities, like, for example, psychology, sociology, modern languages, etc., even though, in these same countries, the employment possibilities in this field are notoriously precarious, and sometimes almost non-existent; in countries where admission in humanities is selective, everyone knows moreover that admissions are difficult and highly eliminatory. In Hungary, the annual brochure on higher education courses provides precise details for the future candidates on the number of places available in such or such a discipline. Nevertheless hundreds of young people continue regularly to apply for prestige courses which offer no more than 15 or 20 places.

(144) We must not conclude from all this that efforts made in career guidance are useless and unintelligent. On the contrary : only an excellent system of career guidance can, if not resolve the problems, at least improve the situation, reduce tension, and serve the interests of the individuals and of the community. For a system of career guidance to be

really effective, however, it is not enough that it should exist, and that it should contain people with the necessary psycho-pedagogical and sociological training, it must also be supported and kept informed by a clearly explained admission policy giving a rich yet precise selection of options.

2. **The Access of Foreigners**

(145) Tables of figures relating to the number of foreign students, their distribution by country of origin and receiving country, are included in the CEPES **Statistical Study** 1970—75, pp. 57—62. Similar tables, for 1977, can be found in a statistical study by Unesco published in 1980 [1]. Unfortunately, this second publication does not include the figures for the U.S.S.R., Israel or the Netherlands. In so far as it is possbile to make a comparison without these figures, few appreciable changes can be seen between 1975 and 1977 : a slight rise in the percentage of foreigners in France and the United States, as well as in Canada, whose statistics are probably the most complete. In the other Member States, only marginal fluctuations can be seen. The most important of the receiving countries, if we are considering the absolute number of foreign students in 1977/78, are the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, as well as the U.S.S.R., on the basis of figures going back to 1970. In the overall percentage of foreign students in each country, Switzerland is in the lead (16.7) followed by France (12.7), Canada (10.4) and Greece (8.7), where this figure is explained by the presence of some 6,000 Cypriots. Approximately 70% of foreign students who are studying in one of the countries of the Europe Region come from other regions, which clearly demonstrates the special position of Europe in the world ; conversely, about 74% of all students studying outside their country of origin, are to be found in Europe. The intra-regional mobilitiy —that is to say the distribution of European students in European countries other than their country of origin — tallies with cultural, linguistic and political links between the countries on the one hand, with existing travel facilities and easy transfer of currency, on the other. Naturally, the move towards a given country also depends on how widely its language is used — and this aspect is very often omitted ; this explains, to a considerable extent, the fact that the absolute figure as well as the percentage ot foreign students is relatively low in some countries whose national language is not widely used. This is the case in all the Scandinavian countries, and in all the socialist countries of Europe with the exception of the U.S.S.R. These disparities reinforce the necessity to encourage a more systematic approach to the study of languages which are not widely used outside certain countries, but which are rich in cultural and scientific tradition.

(146) The countries are evidently interested in receiving a relatively large number of mixed foreign students, reflecting the cultural, linguistic, political and other links which unite the host country and the foreign states, and to enhance their international reputation and prestige, and strengthen

[1] Third Conference of Ministers of Education of the European Member States, *Development of Education in Europe : Statistical Analysis*, op. cit., pp. 50—52, and annex II, pp. 42—43.

the links binding friendly countries. By contrast, when the demand for higher education, within the country, perceptibly exceeds the number of places available in the institutes, the "internal" university policy might lead to a limitation of the number of foreigners, except perhaps in the case of doctorate or "post-graduate" students, whose presence can contribute to particularly valuable intellectual exchanges. Thus there is a certain conflict of interests, which causes some countries, particularly those who are forced to apply a selective admission policy in some of their institutions, to adopt a more or less liberal quota system, limiting foreign students, but at the same time providing them a minimum number of places. This policy, which is both advantageous and restrictive to the acceptance of foreign students, is clearly reflected in Sweden's reply to the CEPES Questionnaire : "When there is restricted entry... foreign students form one special group outside the quota system. The percentage of foreign students is not proportionally determined but a number of places not exceeding ten percent of the total is allotted in advance". In certain countries, the readiness to restrict admission emerges clearly ; it is the case, for example, in Ireland ; elsewhere, as in the Federal Republic of Germany, in the courses submitting to the **numerus clausus**, fixed quotas for foreign students are relatively high, and therefore, have mostly the function of protecting their interests.

(147) In most of the countries, because of a perfectly obvious legal principle, resident foreigners "share the fate" of the nationals ; they are admitted or selected in the same way as the students of the host country ; this is so in Spain, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and all the socialist countries. There is an exception, particularly in the socialist countries, in the case of foreigners who are staying in the country under the terms of a cultural exchange agreement between the states. These students enjoy certain privileges, in so far as they are admitted because they are scholars of the state. However, they do not have the right to the same advantages as the nationals, for obvious reasons ; graduate foreign scholars naturally do not share the right of graduate nationals to assured employment. Students in this category clearly and deliberately make up a "foreign corps", whose size is fixed by agreements, representing the wishes or decisions made by the state. Foreign students are deliberately placed outside the "normal admission policy". On the contrary, the admission policy is fully applied to the residents. One can notice a trend, on the part of the states, against modifying their overall admission policy because of the presence of foreigners on their territory ; or that such foreigners are submitted to the current admission system, sometimes with slight restriction due to sociological and material necessity ; or again that special legal provisions are made for them. Different treatment can further be noticed in other areas, as, for example, in the flow of assistance, loans, social security, etc. In this area, the differences between provisions for foreigners and nationals respectively, extend beyond the confines of the admission policy and form an element of university policy or overall policy.

CONCLUSIONS

(148) Since some conclusions on the main topics under discussion have been drawn during the course of this paper, a detailed conclusion, for such a brief study, would seem superfluous. We will therefore confine ourselves to reviewing a few points, in a necessarily condensed and therefore simple way, to reinforce the meaning of the study.

(149) It seems that, in almost all the countries of the Europe Region, admission policies are endeavouring essentially to maintain the results of the growth in the sixties, but to maintain this growth at a slightly slower pace. This slowing down has one aim : conscious of the socio-local impact of access, of the limited resources at the disposal of higher education, of the fragile balance in the area of employment, Europe seems determined to control and moderate growth in higher education. A long term optimism, deeply rooted in the civilisation of the Region, undoubtedly exists, but the generalization of higher education is not, for the moment, the order of the day.

(150) In this overall picture, admission policies, while remaining policies of growth, are generally selective and restrictive for the simple reason that the increased numbers of qualified pupils from the secondary level — who form the recruitment base for higher education — reflect the generalization or quasi-generalization of secondary education, whereas the generalization at the tertiary level is not considered to be a feasible objective for the near future.

(151) The selection methods show more and more understanding of certain very delicate aspects of the problem ; indeed, elimination inevitably risks affecting large fractions of each age group ; in addition, because of the expansion in secondary education, the crucial moment of choice for the individual is to be found more and more at the time of entry to higher education, when awareness of success and failure becomes heightened and has a noticeable impact on the socio-political attitude of the candidates. The concern for social equality and responsibility which this situation creates forces the authorities of very diverse states to make their selection criteria more comprehensive and more flexible.

(152) The general evolution of society has opened the recruitment base for higher education to a "new clientele" — people who have not necessarily completed the traditional secondary education and/or who wish to acquire a higher training while in employment. Selective admission serves only to increase this "second chance" clientele, because of the number of candidates eliminated at the time of selection. In this way the admission of this new clientele creates the necessary balance in the admission selection of the "ordinary" cohorts. It should be underlined, however, that the success of an admission policy which, while controlling and moderating the flow of "ordinary" cohorts, makes allowances, at least in certain courses, for the continuous higher training of "adults", depends less upon the conception of this policy itself than on the appropriate forms and structures which the higher education institutions can place at the disposal of this new type of clientele.

ANNEX

Bucharest, 25 July 1977
ED-77/WS/98
Original : French

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Questionnaire on Access to Higher Education in Europe

INTRODUCTION

1. In accordance with Unesco's Programme, a study of the present situation and problems of access to higher education in Europe will be prepared during the 1977—1978 biennium with a view to subsequent publication.

2. This is by no means the first time that the problem of access to higher education has been studied within the context of the Organization's Programme. The first important work to be devoted to this subject was published in 1964, in collaboration with the International Association of Universities (Frank Bowles, **Access to Higher Education** in 2 volumes). As far as the European States are concerned, the First Conference of Ministers of Education of European Member States of Unesco (Vienna 1967) was entirely devoted to this problem. The subject was raised once again, this time in a more general context, at the Second Conference of Ministers of Education which was held in Bucharest in November-December 1973. On this occasion, the participating governments unanimously adopted a number of recommendations concerning access to higher education which defined some basic principles for policy in this field.

3. Although these principles are still valid, there is no doubt that the problem of access to higher education has changed considearbly in the last few years. The diversification of higher education, the development of new forms and new structures, the increase in student numbers and the fact that there is now a far wider variety of age groups and social backgrounds to be found among the student population — all these are factors which raise new problems for the Member States.

4. The study which is now to be undertaken will not only update the information submitted to the Bucharest Conference on this question in 1973, it will investigate the new developments and problems which have raised since that Conference in some depth.

5. It seems desirable for this study to be based not on pre-conceived notions but on an overall picture of the situation in the various countries. This explains the **raison d'être** and nature of the present questionnaire which is being sent to Member States in the European Region. Excessively precise formulations have been avoided in order to give some idea of the multiplicity of practical realities and legislative or administrative frameworks. The questions have deliberately been left open-ended in order to allow those answering them to formulate their replies in accordance with their own views and in terms of their own particular problems. The list of questions is, moreover, of an indicative nature and should not be considered as in any way limitative.

6. As far as the field of enquiry covered by the questionnaire is concerned, it is suggested that the following definition of higher education should apply : "The term 'higher education' is defined as that level of education requiring as a minimum condition of admission the successful completion of education at the second level, or evidence of attainment of a level of knowledge equivalent to what is considered satisfactory experience. It covers both public and private institutions and includes : (1) programmes leading to an award not equivalent to a first university degree ; (2) programmes leading to a first university degree or equivalent qualification ; and (3) programmes leading to a post-graduate university degree or equivalent qualification".

7. It will be noted that this definition covers not only the traditional forms of higher education, but also establishments and programmes allowing a new type of student (other than young people of 18 to 24 years of age, who have had secondary education and are not gainfully employed) to receive higher education: establishments and programmes open to those who exercise other activities alongside their higher studies or in alternation with them ; establishments closely connected with industrial enterprises, public service or other institutions which require the services of those with higher educational qualifications ; vocational establishments offering a more practical training in short courses lasting two to three years ; establishments offering a variety of courses of further vocational training and/or re-training for persons already working ; establishments whose programmes are partcularly geared towards community service, with a view to raising the educational and cultural level of the population or assisting the authorities concerned ; and establishments basing their courses on the use of new educational technologies such as the radio, television, telephone, computers, etc.

8. It should be pointed out that Unesco's Office of Statistics has for some years been collecting from Member States a number of data on access to higher education. Those published in connexion with the Second Conference of Ministers of Education at Bucharest in 1973 will be updated and supplemented by new data which will be given in an annex to the study. However, as these data are collected and processed by the Office of Statistics the present questionnaire does not deal with that aspect of the problem, at least directly.

9. In view of the nature of the information requested, it would be advisable to give the answers in a separate document, answering the questions in order and giving their reference number. It would also be helpful to annex to the answers any texts or documents which might supply more detail on the information given. If bibliographical references are given, the list should also be given in an annex.

10. Three copies of the questionnaire are being sent to you. One copy only, with the relevant annexes, should be returned as soon as possible and by 15 October 1977 at the latest to the follwing address :
European Centre for Higher Education — Unesco
39, Ştirbei Vodă St.
R-79062 BUCHAREST (Romania)

11. In case any clarification or additional information should be required, could you give below the name and address of the persons or departments that have helped to answer the questionnaire :

.....

.....

INFORMATION REQUESTED

The following seem to be the main questions on which information and documentation appear to be called for :

I. What are the **major changes** and the **main trends** to have emerged in your **country** in respect of access to higher education over the **last** few years ?

— What changes have been noted in the distribution of student numbers among the different types of institutions and branches of study, and in the age, sex, socio-economic group and geographical origin (distribution between urban and rural areas) of the student population ?

— What are the main problems raised by these changes in your country ?

II. What are the main reasons for these changes and new trends ? (political or socio-ecnomic factors, changes in the educational system, particularly at secondary level, other factors).

III. Have any important **constitutional, legislative or statutory texts** on access to higher education been adopted in your country recently, and in particular since 1973 ?

— If the answer is in the affirmative, what are the main provisions and objectives of these texts ? (Please attach the main texts adopted).

— Are any such legislative texts now being prepared ?

— Are the new texts, whether already adopted or in preparation, likely to broaden access to higher education or, on the contrary, to restrict it ? (Please supply information on the application of these provisions to the different branches of study, if necessary).

— To what extent do the provisions now in force or in preparation meet the needs of society and of the individual for access to higher education, and to what extent are they linked with manpower requirements ?

IV. What **conditions and criteria** are applied to access to higher educational establishments in your country ?
Replies under this head will refer more especially to the following questions, mentioning important changes which have taken place durig the last few years, and in particular since 1973 :

— To what extent is access to higher education affected by restrictive factors at the level of secondary education (length of the period of compulsory education, specialization, etc.) ? Are there any preparatory courses leading up to higher education, in the form of a pre-university year or similar type of course ? Is there any continuity from the programmes of secondary education to those of higher education ?

— Which authorities determine the conditions and criteria to be applied to access to higher education in respect of universities and equivalent establishments and in respect of other higher educational establishments ?

— Are these criteria the same for the different higher educational institutions, for the different types of course and for training for the different professions ? If not, are there provisions allowing for transfer from one type of institution to another ? Is there any tendency to harmonize the criteria for admission to the different types of institutions ?

— Is admission to higher educational institutions based on

- secondary school leaving certificates or on marks awarded in secondary education ?
- on the results of an entrance examination ?
- on selection during the first one or two years of higher education ?

— Is access to higher education conditional on the completion of civic or military service ?

— Are special admission requirements set for adults and for working people whether or not they have a secondary school leaving certificate, either in ordinary higher educational institutions, or in other institutions or programmes organized specially for them, or in vocational re-training and further training courses ?

— Are special admission requirements set for foreign students ?

V. Are there any provisions in your country which establish the principle of **"numerus clausus" ?**

You may here wish to refer more especially to the following questions, mentioning any recent changes.

— If the principle of "numerus clausus" is applied, what reasons justify its application ?

— Is "numerus clausus" operated

- at national level ?
- for certain types of institutions only ?
- by individual institutions ?
- for your own nationals or for foreign students ?

— Is "numerus clausus" applied at the enrolment stage ? during the course of study ? for the doctor's degree or for research ?

— How does "numerus clausus", where it is applied, affect the number of applications for admission to the different types of establishments ? to the different courses of study ?

VI. What measures or provisions have been adopted for **guidance and information?**

Here you could refer in particular to the following questions, mentioning the most recent changes :

— What measures are taken to inform pupils and students on the different institutions and types of higher study and training ? Is this information supplied at secondary school level ?

— Is the choice of certain types of institutions or courses of study encouraged

- by means of more favourable or more flexible admission requirements ?
- by incentives or financial assistance on the completion of secondary studies or during the course of higher study ?
- by the guarantee of employment on the completion of studies ?
- by the prospect of promotion or mobility on completion of the course of higher study ?

— What special measures are taken for the information and guidance of new groups of students (adults, working people, etc.) desiring access to either traditional or new types of higher education ?

VII. What are the main **financial provisions** ? Is access to higher education free or do matriculation fees have to be paid ? What are the main forms of financial assistance granted to students (scholarships, allowances, loans, services or practical assistance) ? Are there any special provisions for the benefit of certain groups (socio-economically disadvantaged groups ; adult worker, in

connection with general studies or further vocational training or re-training ; foreign nationals) ?

VIII. What are the main problems and provisions connected with **mobility** which should be mentioned for their effect on admission problems ? For example, are there any provisions for mobility between new types of establishments and courses (short advanced courses, vocational further training or re-training courses, correspondence courses or distance teaching, evening classes, special extra tuition courses, etc.) and the traditional forms of higher education ?

IX. What is the average **wastage** ratio (relation between the number of new entrants and the number of graduates for the same student cohort) in higher education in your country for the different types of institution ? for the different courses ? for the different types of student (students of 18 to 24 years of age, adults, working people, etc.) ?

X. What are the main **studies and surveys** to have been carried out into the problems of access to higher education and the planning of access to higher education in your country, either by the appropriate services of the responsible authorities (government departments, university bodies or universities) or by specialists on an individual basis ? What are the main studies and surveys to have been carried out into associated problems such as the relations between secondary education and higher education or the relationship between access to higher education and manpower planning ?

XI. What are the main **experimental innovations** now in operation in your country in respect of access to higher education ? How do the authorities of your country envisage **future developments** in this field over the next few years ?